

# DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—1st Eccl. xxxi. 8, 9.

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### RECONSTRUCTION THE NEW DANGER.

The Cotton States having now formally seceded, and set up a separate and Independent Government for themselves, the idea of Reconstruction is beginning to be the rallying cry of many at the North who have done their utmost in cheering on the rebels and traitors in their work of demolishing the present Government. Nothing now can, we think, save the North this new degradation, but the contempt and scorn with which the Cotton Lords spurn the miserable serviles who proffer it. But Northern servility is very persistent, and contempt and scorn are, after all, only *feeling*, and may succumb before suitable apologies and proper self-abasement. The Peace Congress, so called, but only a Virginia caucus to get new guarantees for Slavery over the head of Congress—we are told that this Congress will recommend a National Convention, which means National Reconstruction—which means alterations of the Constitution—which means making that Constitution the express image of Slavery itself, and the poor Northern people more than ever its sworn worshipers. This is clear from the parties who ask for this altering Convention. The North, the East, the West, are satisfied with the Constitution as it is. They ask no change, and need none. The demand for it comes from the South, and those who are for granting it, if they are sincere, are so because they are willing to furnish further guarantees and greater immunities to slaveholding than are to be found in the old Constitution as it is. Some of the Republicans have already expressed their willingness thus to alter or amend the Constitution, Senator SEWARD among the number. Indeed, the Republican press generally assent to the holding of the Convention. But two motives can induce them to favor it: First, to stimulate false hopes in the Border Slave States, stave off Secession, and gain time for the Inauguration of Mr. LINCOLN—a cowardly

and dishonest motive. Or the other may be to assent to new Constitutional provisions for the protection and preservation of Slavery—a motive as cruel and wicked as the other is mean and dastardly. We are, therefore, now in danger of having an open palpable Covenant with Death, and Agreement with Hell. The old Constitution, it is found, after all, to be deficient in pro-slavery provisions. It was made by an anti-slavery generation at an anti-slavery period in our National history, and does not answer the purposes of the human flesh-mongers who delight in the blood and tears of their victims, so they must have another.

This, then, is the great and exceeding peril now besetting the cause of the poor slave.—The Union has fallen apart, and must be again cemented with the slave's blood! The calamity of permanent disunion, great as it is, is nothing to this proposed plan of Reconstruction. It signifies all abounding servility to the Slave Power, and the endless perpetuation of Slavery, so far as incorporating it with the organic law of the land can make it so. Once thus incorporated, the North is bound hand and foot, and chained to the car of Slavery; Free Speech and a Free Press are gone. Anti Slavery meetings, which are now put down by the mob, will be dispersed by municipal authority, while Doctors of Divinity will find Scripture for absolute submission to the new order of affairs. The plantation rule will thus extend itself over the North, and the negro will be hated, persecuted and despised as never before. An Abolitionist will be a hated man, and to tar and feather him will become a patriotic duty.—Such is the prospect now before us. For let the North now relinquish its feeble hold upon anti-slavery principle, and who can sound the fathomless depths to which it shall fall?—Once let it stain its soul with new concessions to Slavery for the sake of Reconstruction, then it is prepared for all conceivable villainy for its preservation.

This is a dark picture, but is it unreasonably so? If Slavery has ruled the Nation for fifty years, under an Anti-Slavery Constitution, and has been able to break up the Government when its friends could no longer rule it, what will those friends not be able to do when they get the fundamental law of the land completely molded to their purposes? We insist that the picture is none too dark. The danger is imminent, and no time should be lost in arresting this Convention movement. No larger premium to treason could be demanded by traitors, than the holding such a Convention would be. It would be saying to all after-coming rebels, yours is the true method of reform. A Convention called now to placate men who have taken up arms against the Government, (and no other motive is or can be assigned for it,) would be for the Government to invite disloyalty and court contempt.

We will not speculate further as to what will be the result. The immediate future is too big with events, and the veil is too soon to be lifted to make such speculations of much value. Of one thing, however, we may never cease to remind our countrymen: no compacts, no compromises, no arguments or covenants into which they may enter, for the purpose of strengthening and perpetuating Slavery, can stand before the settled moral conviction against Slavery which, thanks to the efforts of the Abolitionists, now has a firm hold upon the conscience of a large portion of the people of the North. Mob violence, and red-handed persecution may await us; but out of the trial as by fire, the cause of Liberty, pure, bright and triumphant, is sure to come.

### THE PRO-SLAVERY MOB AND THE PRO-SLAVERY MINISTRY.

These two Powers have been harmoniously and simultaneously active, since the second of December, in the service of the American slave system. The union and concert between them is as admirable as their work is hateful and diabolical. The causes that have moved the one to pelt us with brickbats, have equally moved the other to pester us with sermons.—The weapons of the one are brutal, and those of the other spiritual; but they amount to about the same thing in the end. Both aim to guard, defend and perpetuate, in all its fiendish rigor, the thrice-cursed system of Human Slavery. The piety of the Church, and the profanity and obscenity of the Mob, are morally the same, and express, in their characteristic ways, the same demoniacal idea. That idea is the righteousness of robbery where the victim is black, and the robber is white—for nobody at the North, we think, would defend Slavery, even from the Bible, but for this color distinction. What it would be a State's Prison offense to do to a white man, is quite innocent and praiseworthy to perpetrate as against a human being of a different complexion. Color makes all the difference in the application of our American Christianity. To the whites it is full of love and tenderness. To the blacks it is full of hate and bitterness. The same Book which is full of the Gospel of Liberty to one race, is crowded with arguments in justification of the slavery of another. Those who shout and rejoice over the progress of Liberty in Italy, would mob down, pray and preach down Liberty at home as an unholy and hateful thing.

The aspect of the times must be admitted to be somewhat gloomy and dark for the Abolition cause. During a period of more than thirty years have the Abolitionists, with zeal and ability unsurpassed by those exhibited in any other great moral movement, plied the National heart and conscience with sound doctrine, and have endeavored to bring this guilty nation to repentance, and to deliver the slave, and now to human seeming they are as far from the accomplishment of their work,



as during the pro-slavery mobs of twenty-five years ago.

And yet, what of the Abolitionists? Are they cast down? Are they discouraged?—Do they falter? Not at all—not at all. It is not for those who believe in the Eternity and Divinity of Truth, the (unchangeable law of Progress, to sink under a feeling of despair before the hosts of the enemy. They of all men are most serene and tranquil. It is said that while the Mob was howling at and burning Rev. S. J. MAY, in effigy, that good man was carrying food to the wives and children of the drunken rowdies. Noble soul! He is a specimen of the class against whom the wrath and fury of the country are now let loose. The world has often killed its benefactors, and will do so again. Those who burned good old JOHN HUSS were, doubtless, as sincere as those who murdered TORRY and LOVEJOY, and who are now visiting Abolitionists with violence wherever they essay to speak for the dumb millions in our land. Let the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing. Truth, Justice and Humanity are great, and shall yet triumph over all forms of peculiar wickedness. With this conviction fixed and rooted in the heart, we can smile at the wrath and malice of the oppressor, and defy the power of the brutal Mob, as well as the assaults of Doctors of Divinity. Though hand join hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished, nor the day of righteous retribution be delayed. Our cause is just and holy, and responds to all that is noble and God-like in man. It shall yet see all obstacles overcome, all hindrances removed, all foes vanquished, and every slave redeemed from his chains.

Pro-Slavery Mobs are evidently contagious. Boston set the example, on the third of December, by breaking up a lawful meeting in Tremont Temple. Since then, the disorder has traveled like the cholera from East to West, until it has nearly reached the States west of the Mississippi. The mobocrats generally profess to act for the Government, for 'the Union, the Constitution and the Laws,' and fall upon unarmed men and women with arms and insults, and disperse them as the enemies of the Government. The same brave gentlemen know how to keep out of the way of the real enemies of the Government. The men who rob the National Treasury, steal powder, balls and shells, capture mints and muskets, take possession of forts, arsenals and other property belonging to the United States, and openly defy the Government, are called friends; while we, whose only sin is a desire to put an end to the real disturbing force in American Civilization, are set down and treated as enemies. Towns like Syracuse, which have enjoyed the largest advantages for learning the principles of Self-Government and the sacredness of Free Speech, have displayed the greatest amount of baseness and brutality in trampling upon those principles, and the greatest contempt for that right. The very liberality and enlightenment, formerly characteristic of that community, seems to have been a motive for setting at defiance all decency in the exhibition of its homage to Slavery. The Mob, in burning Mr. MAY and Miss ANTHONY in effigy, acted as though mothers, wives and sisters were held in brutal contempt in that community. The contemplation of the disgusting scene on that occasion must evermore mantle with the blush of shame every man and wo-

man dwelling in that hitherto decent and respectable community.

But the rowdies have been scarcely more active in their devotion to our National Barbarism than the Reverends. The higher we go up in the scale of ecclesiastical gradation, the more heartless and cruel do we find the enemies of our cause. In our number for last month, we took occasion to hold up to deserved reprobation, Rev. Dr. SHAW's apology for Slavery, and his cowardly denunciation of Abolitionists. Sermons worse than his have been lately preached by other eminent Doctors of Divinity. We have been called upon to answer some of these with arguments instead of denunciation. But what arguments can we use towards men who, like Bishop HOPKINS, bring Christ and his Apostles, Moses and the Prophets, with whole columns of Bible quotations, to prove that another man has a better right to our body and soul than we have, and quotes the Bible to show that the race to which we belong are deemed by the Almighty to be only fit to be the property of the white race? We argue with no such disputants. It would be insulting to Common Sense, an outrage upon all right feeling, for us, who have worn the heavy chain, and felt the biting lash, to consent to argue with Ecclesiastical Sneaks who are thus prostituting their Religion and Bible to the base uses of popular and profitable iniquity. They don't need light, but the sting of honest rebuke. They are of their father the Devil, and his works they do, not because they are ignorant, but because they are base. On the side of the Oppressor there is power, and the crafty creatures know just where they belong.

The Sermons of Drs. VANDYKE, HOPKINS, THORNWELL, and others, to prove that God is well pleased with slaveholding and slave-catching, and that those are the chief of sinners who oppose the slave system and seeks its abolition, may well give inaffable joy to the hearts of Atheists, and of all who wish to see the Bible sink beneath the waves of universal contempt. What reverence can men have for a Book that authorizes one race to make beasts of burden of another? What love can a man have for a God who plunges him in the hell of Slavery? A thousand times over, give us the Religion or no Religion of the Infidel, with its Justice and Humanity, than the Religion of Slavery as taught by these crafty and cruel Doctors of Divinity.—We are at the end of argument with such persons. If they press the Bible into the service of Slavery, so much the worse for the Bible. We are quite tired of quoting text against text, not because we cannot find as many on our side, the side of Liberty, as these Doctors find on the side of Slavery, but because we have had enough of these arguments. The man that will go to God, or to the Bible, to look for arguments in support of a desire to work his brother man without wages, is a hypocrite as well as a scoundrel, and is below the level of argument. Some things are too evidently wrong to admit of argument or apology. Humanity instinctively turns from Slavery with a shudder. We have here the utterance of the voice of God in man, and to its high and instantaneous teaching we may listen in preference to any voice for Slavery drawn from the Bible.

—Jeff. Davis and A. H. Stephens have been elected rulers of the new Southern Confederacy.

#### THE VICTORS CONQUERED BY THE VANQUISHED—THE MINORITY RULING THE MAJORITY.

In the controversy now going forward between the Republican and the Democratic and Pro-Slavery parties, the spectacle is presented of the vanquished dictating terms to the victors—demanding, under threats of Rebellion and Treason, the absolute humiliation of the victors, and the surrender of the very advantages supposed to have been gained in the contest. If the organ of memory has dropt out of every American cranium, surrounding nations will at least remember that the distinct issue upon which the late Presidential Election turned, was the Non-Extension of Slavery, and the right and duty of the American Congress to make Non-Extension the Policy and the Law of this Republic. For this the Republican orators talked during the canvass, and for this the people voted. So far as the legal and constitutional right, order and regularity are concerned, the question was settled by the People in the most solemn and authoritative manner possible. Without the slightest informality, agreeable to established usage, in harmony with the principles of Democratic institutions, the People expressed their determination that Slavery should be confined within the present limits. This decision of the People was published, celebrated and gloried in. Had the Election gone in the opposite direction, the worst enemy of the North does not even suspect that the decision would have been resisted, or in any manner thwarted. Submission to the Constitutional rule of the majority would not have been so much as questioned. However the people of the North might have regretted the popular verdict, they would have acquiesced in it, and bided their time for another trial, by the same Constitutional method, (to wit, the ballot box,) to reverse that verdict.

Such acquiescence has been the rule and the example of the North during the whole history of the Government. In every political contest between the sections, until now, the South has had everything its own way; and yet, the Northern people, though their sentiments were grossly outraged, have been every way loyal to the Government, and made no factious resistance whatever. Now all is changed. Those who have ruled are now called upon to be ruled; and they answer, how? By organizing and plotting Rebellion; by seizing arms, ammunition, forts and arsenals; by insulting and pulling down the National Flag from its place over American property; by doing their utmost to break up the Government they could no longer rule, and establishing one for themselves, and for all they can coax or coerce into their treasonable, Slaveholding Confederacy. In addition to the States which have thus acted, others, such as Virginia and North Carolina, remain, not because they love the country, but confessedly to prevent the Government from asserting its legitimate authority over its own citizens, and to extort from the incoming Administration concessions diametrically opposed to the principle upon which that Administration was elected. Thus stands the question at this moment, and aftercoming generations will be amazed and confounded by this page in the history of the operation of our Democratic institutions. The impudence and audacity of the South, the cowardice and treachery of



the present Government in refusing to execute the Laws and to punish Treason, and the tendency to compromise and concession by the victorious party, are all so marked, mean and unnatural, that had any one living in another country prophesied that the facts actually now transpiring would ever occur, he would have been deemed and denounced as a slanderer of the Republic.

The strangest feature of this eventful drama is the complete inversion of the sense of the words which has taken place. Armed Rebellion is now simply the sovereign right of Secession, and the execution of the Laws is called 'Coercion.' The rebels seize and hold forts that don't belong to them, to prevent bloodshed. Preparation, by the Federal Government, to defend the execution of a plot to seize the Capitol, is regarded as a menace to the sovereign State of Virginia.—The poor old Federal Government cannot move hand or foot a hair's breadth in any direction for its own preservation, without meeting with the alarm cry of Coercion.

Under whose fostering care has this gigantic and systematized Treason grown up and reached its present overtopping and alarming proportions? Undoubtedly, the Chief of Sinners in this matter—and impartial history will so record it—is JAMES BUCHANAN, the Democratic President of the United States. He has been the pliant tool in the hands of the traitors from the beginning, and since the sixth of November, has shaped his whole policy so as to give the largest latitude to lawlessness, and the most perfect impunity to traitors who, under his patronage, have robbed and then sought to destroy the Government he was sworn to defend. Under the pretense of wishing to avoid the effusion of blood, (a praiseworthy motive) he has, by his pusillanimity, virtually encouraged war upon his own sworn defenders, and the defenders of the Government. Mr. BUCHANAN has invented a new method for the suppression of Treason and Rebellion; it is to let the traitors and rebels have their own way, and by no means to offer them any resistance. Hereafter, if his prescriptions are followed, the overthrow of a Government, instead of being the most solemn and hazardous undertaking in which men can engage, will be one of the lightest and safest pastimes and sports.

Next to Mr. BUCHANAN, we are indebted to the Northern wing of the Democratic party for the success of the South in breaking up the Union. Its presses, and its leaders, smarting under defeat, have most unpatriotically and scandalously used the disunion movement of the South to frighten the Republican party into an utter abandonment of their principles, and thus to accomplish the demoralization and destruction of the party. The game has been admirably played, and not without a large measure of success. Encouraged by the signs of wavering in the ranks of the Republicans, they have followed up the work with ever increasing vigor and pertinacity. Upon all supposed weak points they have directed their force with effect. They have urged the repeal of Personal Liberty Bills, the enforcement of the inhuman Fugitive Slave Bill, the passing of the CRITTENDEN Compromise, opposed Coercion—that is, the enforcement of the Laws of the Union—and have thus encouraged the arrogance and audacity which, as good citizens, they should have been fore-

most in frowning down. Their policy has been not the salvation of the country, but the distraction of the Republicans. Every fact and argument which could be pressed into this service, whether touching the pockets or the prejudices of the people have been skillfully wielded to this one malign purpose.

Happily, up to this time, within twelve days of the inauguration of the Republican President, no word has fallen from the Leader of the party which can be construed into an abandonment of the principles upon which he was elected. So far so good; but how long this may remain the case, no man can tell.—The atmosphere of the Capital has hitherto been fatal to the moral health of nearly all Northern men, and may prove so to that of Mr. LINCOLN, though all our hopes are on the opposite side

#### THE NEW PRESIDENT.

Of one satisfaction, one ray of hope amid the darkness of the passing hour, and the reign of doubt and distraction, we may now safely begin to assure ourselves. Before we can again speak to our respected readers through this channel, the long desired 4th of March will have come, LINCOLN will be inaugurated at Washington, and his policy declared. Whatever that policy may be towards the seceded and confederated States; whatever it may be towards Slavery, the ruling cause of our nation's troubles, it will at least be a great relief to know it, to rejoice in and defend it, if right, and to make war upon it if wrong. To know what it is, is now the main thing. If he is going to abandon the principles upon which he was elected, complement the South for being wrong, and censure himself and friends for being right, court treason and curse loyalty, desert his friends and cleave to his enemies, turn his back on the cause of Freedom and give new guarantees to the system of Slavery—whatever policy, whether of peace or war, or neither, it will be a vast gain at least to know what it is. Much of the present trouble is owing to the doubt and suspense caused by the shuffling, do-nothing policy of Mr. BUCHANAN.—No man has been able to tell an hour before hand what to expect from that source. However well disposed he may have been, the slaveholding thieves and traitors about him have had him under their thumb from the beginning until now. Every man who wishes well to the country will rejoice at his out going, and feel that though he leaves the body politic weakened, and the nation's Constitution shattered, his out going, like the subsidence of some pestilence walking in darkness, is a cause for devout thanksgiving. A month longer in power, and perhaps, the epitaph of the American Republic might, if it may not now, be written, and its death consigned to the mouldy tombs of once great, but now extinct nations.

While not at all too confident of the incorruptible purity of the new President, (for we remember the atmosphere of Washington, and the subtle devices of the enemies of Liberty, among whom he has now gone,) still we hope something from him. His stately silence during these last tumultuous and stormy three months, his stern refusal thus far to commit himself to any of the much advocated schemes of compromise, his refusal to have concessions

extorted from him under the terror instituted by thievish conspirators and traitors, the cool and circumspect character of his replies to the various speeches, some delicate, appropriate, and sensible, and some rudely curious and prying, made to him during his circuitous route to Washington, the modesty with which he has pushed aside the various compliments bestowed upon him, all prove that he has not won deceitfully the title of Honest Old Abe. True, indeed, he has made no immoderate promises to the cause of freedom. His party has made none. But what were small in Chicago, will be found large at Washington, and what were moderate in the canvass, have become much augmented by the frowning difficulties since flung in the way of their accomplishment by the movement for disunion. It was a small thing six months ago to say, as the Republican party did say, that the Union shall be preserved, but events have now transpired, which make this a very solemn matter to reduce to practice. Most things are easier said than done, and this thing belongs to the general rule. That declaration in the Chicago platform implied that those who uttered it, believed that this Government possesses ample power for its own preservation, and that those powers should be in their hands, faithfully wielded for that purpose. This, then, is the first question: Will Mr. LINCOLN boldly grapple with the monster of Disunion, and bring down his proud looks?

Will he call upon the haughty slave masters, who have risen in arms, to break up the Government, to lay down those arms, and return to loyalty, or meet the doom of traitors and rebels? He must do this, or do worse.—He must do this, or consent to be the despised representative of a defied and humbled Government. He must do this, or own that party platforms are the merest devices of scheming politicians to cheat the people, and to enable them to crawl up to place and power. He must do this, or compromise the fundamental principle upon which he was elected, to wit, the right and duty of Congress to prohibit the farther extension of Slavery. Will he compromise? Time and events will soon answer this question. For the present, there is much reason to believe that he will not consent to any compromise which will violate the principle upon which he was elected; and since none which does not utterly trample upon that principle can be accepted by the South, we have a double assurance that there will be no compromise, and that the contest must now be decided, and decided forever, which of the two, Freedom or Slavery, shall give law to this Republic. Let the conflict come, and God speed the Right, must be the wish of every true-hearted American, as well as of that of an onlooking world.

Mrs. WM. WEBB, of Dublin, requests us to correct a mistake we made in our January number. In acknowledging the donation, we omitted to say that the ten pounds sent through her was from 'the Irish Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society.'

—Lucy, the negro girl who was remanded to her master from Cleveland—the rendition of whom an account will be found in our present number—has safely arrived at her old home in Virginia. Her arrival gave great satisfaction to the Goshorn family, and the escorting party was warmly welcomed, of course.



## HAYTIAN EMIGRATION.

POTTSVILLE, Pa., Feb. 5, 1861.

MR. EDITOR:—Will you be kind enough to answer the following questions for my information and others?

1. As our old and well tried friend, are you positively in favor of the emigration of our people to Hayti?

2. Are you fully satisfied with the truthfulness of the representations of the Haytian Government, etc., as set forth by Mr. James Redpath's 'Guide to Hayti'?

3. Do you expect to emigrate there at any time, providing the elevation of our people in the United States progresses at the same ratio that it has for the last, say seven years?

Will you be kind enough to give me a decisive answer upon these points, and I would be happy to have it publicly noticed in your next issue?

Yours,

GEO. C. ANDERSON.

Emigration to Hayti is wise or foolish, commendable or otherwise, according to the circumstances of the emigrant himself. There are individuals and classes of our people which would undoubtedly succeed well in Hayti—Those accustomed to the culture of cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco, and who have been driven North by the oppressive laws of the slave States, would do well to turn their course towards Hayti. But we are not in favor of wholesale and indiscriminate emigration to Hayti, or elsewhere. Such of our number as have acquired property, are making a good living, and have the means of educating their children, would be quite unwise to part with their property and leave a useful position for the uncertainties of emigration to Hayti, or elsewhere. We are in favor of emigration as a colored man, just as we should be if we were an Englishman, or an Irishman, living in England or Ireland. To you who have no foothold here, we should say, go there. But as we should not be in favor of saying to all the people of those countries, be off, so we are not in favor of saying to all the colored people here, move off. We are far from calling upon any part of our people to emigrate, for public reasons, such as inability to live among white people, or for the charms of a 'Colored Nationality.' The things for which men should emigrate, are food, clothing, property, education, manhood and material prosperity, and he who has these where he is, had better stay where he is, and exert the power which they give him to overcome whatever of social or political oppression which may surround him. So much for the first question.

2d. Yes; we are fully satisfied with the truthfulness of Mr. REDPATH's representations of the Haytian Government. We believe him to be an honest man, and a sincere friend of the colored race.

3d. No; we do not expect to emigrate to Hayti under any circumstances now existing or apprehended. We have personal and peculiar reasons for staying just where we are.—The same work to which we have given the first years of our manhood, requires our last, and shall have them. Nevertheless, we shall rejoice in the success attending our people who shall seek homes in Hayti, and if ever able to do so, we are resolved to visit them and see how they get along in their new homes.

We think the above a sufficiently explicit answer to the questions of our friend, Mr. ANDERSON, and to many others who have made similar inquiries of us about going to Hayti.

—A bill to cut off mail facilities from seceding States has passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 131 to 36.

## BRITISH WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

Great Britain has done many noble things in her life, and has, beyond all nations of modern times, won for herself the grateful homage and admiration of the lovers of justice and the rights of mankind. She has generously afforded an asylum for the oppressed from all countries, and of all colors; but in no instance has she exerted her beneficent powers more worthily than in the recent case of poor ANDERSON, consigned to the gallows by a Canadian Court for an offense which, had it been committed by other than a man of color, would have been deemed meritorious, and applauded rather than punished. The history of this case is well known to our readers. While running away for his liberty, a hound, by the name of Diggs, with his two slaves, undertook to arrest and detain ANDERSON, and after running for an hour, the fugitive turned upon Diggs, his pursuer, stabbed and killed him, and afterwards succeeded in reaching Canada. Taking advantage of the Ashburton Treaty, which makes it the duty of the respective Governments parties to it, to deliver up fugitives from justice, ANDERSON was demanded of Canada; and with more regard for the letter than for the spirit of the law, Canadian justice delivered up the hero as a criminal. Fortunately, before the decision of the Courts was executed, the great writ of *habeas corpus*, which has wrought wonders in the progress of freedom in England, was granted from Westminster Hall by Chief Justice COCKBURN, ordering ANDERSON to be brought to England. This interference on the part of the Home Government seemed very offensive to the slaveites of Canada, and before the writs of *habeas corpus* could be served, ANDERSON was set at liberty, on the ground of a mere technical informality. Great is the *habeas corpus*, and may its potent shadow never be less!

Our friends in England took a very deep interest in this case, and they will rejoice with us over the release of the prisoner, and that vengeance of cruel men will not be satisfied by putting this innocent man to death.—We are under obligations to our friends at Cork for keeping us informed of British public opinion respecting this case. The tone of the London *Daily News*, in respect to the claims of ANDERSON, was as high and creditable to the British press, as the granting of the *habeas corpus*, by Chief Justice COCKBURN, was worthy of the humanity and glory of the British nation. The following from the Toronto *Globe*, will show how the release of ANDERSON was received by the people:

Mr. Sheriff Jarvis then stepped up to Anderson and announced to him that he was free! Anderson rose from his seat smiling, and turning to the bench as he left the Court, said: 'Thank you gentlemen—thank your lordships.' He was then conducted through the Judge's room into the centre Hall. On reaching the front of the building he was warmly received by the large crowd who had filled the Court, and congratulated on his discharge. A number of clergymen and others grasped him warmly by the hand, and three cheers were given for the 'British Government,' led by an enthusiastic colored man. A sleigh was procured at the head of York street, and into this Anderson stepped, accompanied by Ald. Naismith and others. The party drove to several places in the city, and in the evening a comfortable boarding house was found for Anderson. The news that he was free was soon known throughout the city, and every one appeared to feel glad that the poor fugitive had

escaped, even by a technicality, the vengeance of the slave-owners of the South.

The discharge has been ordered on two distinct grounds. First, the warrant of commitment recites that Anderson stands charged, for that he did 'wilfully, maliciously, and feloniously, stab and kill one Seneca T. P. Diggs, of Howard county,' which might amount only to manslaughter; whereas, the Judges decide, that to come within the provisions of the treaty, the charge must be one of 'murder.' Second, the warrant commits Anderson to the gaol of Brantford 'until he shall be discharged according to law;' whereas, the Judges decide, he should have been committed 'until surrender be made or until he shall be discharged according to law.'

Anderson is now among his friends—but he is still liable to re-arrest on documents prepared more carefully than the last. The danger, however is by no means what it was. It is to be hoped that no second Matthews is to be found in the Magistracy of Canada—and if unhappily there was another such, good care will, we fancy, be taken that Anderson shall not be found until the intent and meaning of the Extradition Treaty in regard to slaves has been authoritatively determined.

## GERRIT SMITH AT THE CAPITAL.

In times like these, when the Union is idolized at the North, and despised, insulted and spit upon at the South; when, to save the Union, men are called upon to sacrifice the dignity of Government and priceless principles of Liberty, which Governments are instituted to establish and preserve; when the hearts of admitted and approved statesmen, like SEWARD and ADAMS, are failing them for fear, and the higher order of the Clergy are racking their brains and ransacking their Bibles to find arguments for oppression, and texts to support tyranny, and the tendency of the nation is to the regions of despair and ruin—it is consoling to see one man of power standing firm, amid the general demoralization, speaking with power and authority the words of Truth and Sobriety—and such a man is GERRIT SMITH. His speech before the Legislature, a few days ago, in behalf of a Personal Liberty Bill, is one of the noblest and best of all his speeches. He appeared there at the request of petitioners, branded with popular opprobrium, mobbed and insulted as disturbers of the peace, and to advocate a measure of mercy which has arrayed against it all that is selfish, servile and mean in politics, and all that is compromising and cowardly in the temper and spirit of the times. He stood before those who, for the sake of a dishonorable and worthless peace with the Slave Power of the country, would sacrifice the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, and faithfully delivered his soul regardless of the raging billows of corruption and deterioration around him. We have room only for the closing remarks of Mr. SMITH, as we find them published in the New York *Tribune*. They are not more fervid and eloquent, than true and appropriate to the times and the occasion. With GERRIT SMITH at Albany, and WENDELL PHILLIPS in Boston, all the floods of disunion will not be able to extinguish the fires of Freedom at the North.

Poor black men! All the deeper will be your sorrows when the North and the South shall come together again, light-hearted, loving, and joyful, in another and ungodly compromise.—And the King and Haman sat down to drink—but the City Shushan was perplexed. Alas for our city Shushan, if still more perplexities are in store for her troubled spirits and bleeding hearts! Will neither North nor South ever have done with torturing and murdering her? It is a cheap thing (though in the end it may



be found very dear,) for quarreling parties to make peace at the expense of an innocent party. Herod and Pilate made peace at the expense of Christ. Governor Seward and others would make peace between the oppressors at the expense of the slave. God's way to make it, is to 'break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor; if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquility.' God's peace-making voice to this guilty nation is: 'Let my people go.' 'Let my people go.' This was his voice to an ancient nation. It refused to give heed and perished, as will this nation also if it shall refuse to be warned. Our great men are working their wits to devise a salvation for our crumbling national edifice. The Divine prescription: 'Let my people go,' is, however, its only possible salvation. In other words, repentance is our only remedy. I said that Gov. Seward and others would make peace at the expense of the slave. They would make it by heaping up fresh cruelties and outrages upon him. They would make it by making his prison tighter, and the return of the fugitive from it surer. The wickedness of such a peace kindles all my abhorrence; its meanness all my disgust. 'Rob not the poor because he is poor,' is a solemn command of the precious bible; and emphatically is the present a case where the poor is robbed because his helpless poverty gives impunity to the robbery.

My speech is done. Old age is upon me.—Sickness has often hushed my voice. I may never again be allowed to lift it up in this Hall, where for more than thirty years it has occasionally been heard in behalf of various causes of righteousness. And if I am now to speak the last words I shall be allowed to speak here, what better can I do than exclaim: 'Let my sicknesses be multiplied. Let me, as I have repeatedly done, go down to the gates of death. Let my brain again sink so low that I shall not know one friend from another. Let me suffer every anguish of body and every anguish of spirit.—Let me become, if it is possible, even more than ever the public laughing-stock, because of my fanaticism, which prefers truth to numbers and the right to popularity. Let all this come upon me. But let me never be guilty of seeking to adjust a claim or compose a strife between my fellow-man and myself at the expense of a third person, and especially an innocent third person. But let me never be guilty of favoring a compromise between two peoples at the expense of robbing another and an innocent people, and that, too, a people whom they had always robbed. But let me never be guilty of favoring the plan to reunite two peoples by re-crushing and more thoroughly crushing a poor people whom they had always been crushing. But let me never be left to approve the taking of the heart's blood of the innocents to cement the broken friendship of their enemies. From such superlative wickedness, from such ineffable meanness, from such stupendous hypocrisy, may God preserve me.'

#### COTTON AND SUGAR CULTURE IN AFRICA.

BENZONIA, Lebanon Co., Mich., Feb. 5, '61.  
To GERRIT SMITH, Peterboro', N. Y.

DEAR BROTHER:—Please excuse my intruding upon your notice once more, for though I am far away in the big woods of north-western Michigan, endeavoring to lay the foundations of society right in this new country, yet our acquaintance must not therefore stop.

I am acting here as an independent Home Missionary, preaching in the new settlements where there is no one to break unto them the 'bread of life,' doing what I can to sustain myself and family, and refusing nothing that any person may freely give to aid in feeding my family—a wife and three children. We are in a log house, have to clear our land, and work very hard; but we enjoy it. A Christian Colony has been commenced here, with a view of establishing a Manual Labor College, for male and female, irrespective of color.

Since I was obliged to leave Africa on account of my wife's ill health, I have for years had a strong desire to commence in West Africa, in opposition to the South, the raising of cotton and sugar for the world's market.—Africa is the greatest country in the world for

the production of these articles. They can be raised very much cheaper and more abundantly there than in the South, even though they pay slaves nothing for their labor. Cotton is indigenous to the soil, grows wild almost everywhere, and can be cultivated to any extent with the greatest ease; for (1) when once planted, the same bush bears its crop yearly, so that all that is needed, after the first year, is to gather the cotton; (2) labor is cheaper there than even slave labor; (3) there are no frosts there to interfere with the plant. And sugar cane, when once planted, does the same—cut down, it sprouts up again immediately, and thus keeps growing all the year, and needs only to be gathered.—The cane I have seen growing there, I have never seen equaled in America or the West Indies. Coffee, a forest tree, growing wild, can be cultivated as easily as any fruit tree with us. Ginger, pepper, arrow-root, &c., can all be produced there in the greatest perfection. The cotton and sugar business particularly can be successfully carried on in West Africa, so as to supply the world in a few years. All that is needed is to start the thing in a few places along the coast, show the natives how, employ them till they learn, make a market for them, and they will go into it by scores of thousands, as they are already doing on the Gulf of Guinea, where the English have in a few years sold hundreds of cotton presses and gins to the natives, (the thick skulled, stupid Guinea niggers we hear about,) who are now working them successfully, and shipping their own cotton to Manchester.—My idea is this: Secure a good location for soil and shipping, employ hundreds of the natives, and plant cotton and sugar extensively, connecting with the enterprize schools and preaching, thus uniting, as they should be, Christianity and Civilization. In such an enterprize I have much desired to engage, acting as the agent of some person or persons who would supply the means to begin it. But as I was prevented from going to Africa, I wrote to Bro. J. S. Brooks, my associate in Africa, and proposed that he enlist in it. He could not then; but now I have a letter from him, saying he is ready to do so if he can have the needful aid to start. He has the land, the river to float to sea, the people about him anxious to work, and the skill and judgment to carry forward such a work, and he deems it of the greatest importance for the welfare of Africa, as well as the breaking down of slavery. But he says he needs \$1,500 to get the thing under way, to clear land, and plant, put up buildings, buy gin and press, &c.; then after the third year he could take the whole upon himself, and refund the principal in two or three annual installments. Now, is not this worthy of a trial?

Your brother, GEO. THOMPSON.

—A bill to protect freedom of speech and public discussion has been introduced by Mr. Argile of the State Assembly. It provides for punishment by fine of \$10 to \$100, of any person disturbing meetings or assemblages convened for any lawful purpose, by noise, violence or annoyance of any kind, and where force, concert and combination is proved, by a fine of not more than \$500, and imprisonment of from thirty days to six months. It gives magistrates and officers summary powers of arrest and trial.

—A petition was presented to our State Assembly, Jan. 20, for a revival of the law allowing the citizens of slave States to temporarily sojourn in New York with slaves.

#### THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.

The star-spangled banner that blows broad and brave  
O'er the home of the free, o'er the hut of the slave—  
Whose stars in the face of no foe e'er waxed pale,  
And whose stripes are for those that the stars dare assail—

Whose folds every year, broad and broader have grown,  
Till they shadow both arctic and tropical zone,  
From the Sierra Nevada to Florida's shore,  
And, like Oliver Twist, are still asking for more—

That banner whose infantine bunting can boast  
To have witnessed the Union's great charter engrossed;  
Which at Boston saw freedom's stout struggle begun,  
And from Washington welcomed its victory won—

For our fathers in rebel defiance it spread,  
But to us it waves brotherly greeting instead;  
And Concord and Peace, not Bellona and Mars,  
Now support England's Jack and the States' stripes and stars.

Can it be there are parricide hands that would tear  
This star-spangled banner, so broad and so fair?  
And if there be hands would such sacrilege try,  
Is the bunting too weak the attempt to defy?

Alas! while its woof freedom wove in her loom,  
She paused in her work, and the fiend took her room,  
And, seizing the shuttle that freedom had left,  
Threw slavery's warp across liberty's web.

How the fiend laughed and leaped, as the swift shuttle flew,  
With its blood-rotted threads, the fair web running through,  
'Now cut out your web—it is broad, it is long—  
'Twixt fiend's work and freedom's, let's hope it is strong!'

And now that the blood-rotted warp is worn bare,  
The flag it is fraying, the flag it may tear;  
For the fiend cheers on those who to rend it essay,  
And the work he's had hand in is apt to give way.

Now Heaven guide the issue! May Freedom's white hands,  
'Ere too late, from the plank those blood-rotted strands,  
And to battle and breeze fling the banner in proof  
That 'tis all her own fabric, in warp as in woof.

If this may not be, if the moment be nigh,  
When this banner unrent shall no more flout the sky,  
To make fitting division of beams and of bars,  
Let the South have the stripes, and the North have the stars. —[Punch.

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY AND FUGITIVE SLAVES.—The Provisional Constitution of the Southern Confederacy contains the following clause on the subject of fugitive slaves:

'A slave in one State, escaping to another, shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom said slave may belong, by the Executive authority of the State in which such slave shall be found, and in case of any abduction or forcible rescue, full compensation, including the value of the slave, and all costs and expenses, shall be made to the party by the State in which such abduction or rescue shall take place.'

The clause in the Constitution of the U. S., which is generally construed to refer to fugitive slaves, is this:—'No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

—Mr. Parrott, the delegate from Kansas, who recently had a valuable slave bequeathed to him by his grandmother, in Maryland, has emancipated him and sent him as a free man to Ohio.



## COTTON AND HAYTI.

The commercial prize of the present day is in the hands of the country which supplies the largest amount of cotton to the markets of the manufacturing countries of the world. The slave States of North America at present enjoy an enviable supremacy in this respect. It has been alike the dream of the political economist of Great Britain, and philanthropist in America, to obtain a supply of this indispensable article from countries cultivated by free labor. Such a vision has almost seemed Utopian; but the insanity of the South, and the logic of their system, drives them every day nearer to that destruction which the old axiom says, the Gods plan when first they make mad. 'Cotton is King' is the shout which the devotees of diabolism have raised. The slaveocrats threaten to abdicate, and thus bring the civilization and humanity of the world to their feet. Great Britain, which has the largest stake in such a result—for her manufactures largely supply the world—has long been sensible of the organic defect in the labor system by which six-sevenths of her cotton supply hitherto has been produced. India, China, Australia, Africa and the West Indies have all in turn been looked to for furnishing that supply when the dreaded moment of derangement should come. The difficulty is culminating, and it behooves those who hope to wound slavery in a vital part to bestir themselves.—The London Times, in a late article, stated that the weekly consumption of Great Britain, in 1860, was about 48,000 bales. Of these, 41,000 were supplied by this country; the remainder, about 2,000 bales from Brazil, 1,800 from Egypt and the West Indies, and 3,200 from India.

Thus it is evident that the stoppage of the supply threatened by the Gulf States will seriously affect the welfare of England. The selfish interests of a great community, thus suddenly affected, often override the highest considerations of right and wrong. But the point to which a result of this kind will tend, is to compel other tropical cotton-bearing regions to bestir themselves in meeting the great demand for that staple. The cotton trade of the United States is as purely artificial as such a trade can well be. The plant and the labor were both imported. In 1790, this country did not export a pound, or but a very small amount. In 1792, the amount was 138,328 lbs.; in '94, 160,760 lbs.; and in '95, 5,276,306 lbs. The cause of this enormous increase was the value given to the article by the invention, in '93, of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney, which thus increased the crop so enormously. Says the Times in the article before alluded to:

'That wonderful trade, which now yields the United States a revenue of £10,000,000 a year, (\$200,000,000) is as purely artificial as a trade can be. The plant was imported, and the labor was imported. Everything was accomplished by industry and enterprise, and what has been done once can be done again. Take a soil favorable to the growth of cotton, and the cotton trade can be created to a certainty. It is not even a work of time. Seven short years sufficed to raise the produce of cotton in America from 500 lbs. to 18,000,000, from a single bale to 36,000 bales. It must be remembered, however, that was only accomplished by untiring energy and abundant capital. The enterprise was amply remunerative, but no negligence was admitted in the work. The Southern States fairly gave themselves up to cotton-planting. They made cotton their sole staple, at the cost of all earlier products. Never were

greater energies imparted into any branch of industry, and never was the organization of a trade more complete. The results are what we now see. The largest manufacturing system ever known in the world derives its supplies of raw material from a single farm, and has derived them hitherto with almost as much certainty as could be desired. Unfortunately, the labor employed was of so exceptionable a character, that organic derangement was always to be apprehended, and the event so long dreaded now threatens to take, not only us, but the Americans themselves by surprise.'

Mark the words italicized in the above, '*Take a soil favorable to the growth of cotton, and the cotton trade can be created to a certainty*'

Hayti presents a field entirely favorable to such a trade. It only requires energy and capital to make there a supply of cotton which will throw into the shade entirely, for the superficial area employed, the producing capability of the Gulf States. Give Hayti an ample supply of labor and skill, let it commence the work of competition in earnest, and capital, with its many hands, will reach out to aid and strengthen. The prize is too great, the need will soon be too pressing, the demand too urgent, for prejudice or indifference to stand in the way of encouragement. The geographical position of Hayti, no less than its capability of production, should turn the attention of people who desire the overthrow of slavery and the growth of the oppressed.

Spiritual advancement, by which term is included the mental, moral and social constituents, can only be secured through material prosperity and industrial freedom. Herein lies, as in a nut-shell, the whole question of the advancement of the Anglo-African people. Whatever tends to give material strength ultimates eventually in the higher development of the soul's life. Slavery being the obstacle in the growth of the colored people among us, it must be done away with. What, therefore, tends to do away with it, elevates the race. This may be insurrection, or emigration, or both. There seems to be a crisis when the latter method comes with peculiar force. The manufactures of the world seem threatened with a cessation of the supply of this most needed article, by the climax which the slave States here have reached. The manufacturer and merchant look anxiously for other quarters from whence to derive their staple. Give Hayti labor, an earnest determination on the part of that labor to succeed, capital will flow in from every side, and in a few years not only will the free American-African of the tropics have won for his nation and people a proud place among the useful nations, but he also will have materially aided in wresting from the oppressors of his people the much vaunted supremacy they now so boastfully claim. Writing in 1790, of the Spanish Colony in Hayti, M. De St. Mery says:

'From the indifference shown for the cultivation of the cotton plant, it would be impossible to conceive that cotton is of value enough to excite industry, that it grows naturally at St. Domingo, and that it is of an excellent quality, even when it comes without the least care. It flourishes in stony land, in that which is the most barren, and in the very crevices of the rocks.'

A curious old work—'Trimpfen's Voyage to St. Domingo'—says:

'The most seducing article of cultivation as are less eager to accumulate than to enjoy, is cotton. It is not so lucrative, indeed, as the rest; but its returns are quick, and it requires fewer hands, fewer buildings, &c. Almost every soil agrees with it, though there are some,

such as that of Gonaives for example, which raise plants of a superior quality.'

Since the date of the above, 1788, the first part of the above extract is entirely changed. Cotton presents to-day the most enticing prize to those who wish to accumulate as well as to enjoy wealth. The 'Guide to Hayti' says:

'Cotton grows with extraordinary facility, requiring no culture whatever. It is of a fine, silky quality. It does not grow on bushes, but trees, which produce two crops annually, and last several years. Its culture might be made exceedingly profitable, as no country is better adapted for its growth.'

A large proportion of the Government lands, thrown open and accessible to the emigrant, are suitable for the cultivation of this staple. Already the Louisianian settlers at St. Mark, and in the valley of the Artibonite, have turned their attention to cotton, and the first shipment from that locality is always heralded by the Haytian journals.

J. Dennis Harris, the author of a little volume, entitled 'A Summer in the Caribbean Sea'—describing the home of a former South Carolina slave, in the Spanish part of the island—says:

'So great was the yield of Mr. Smith and his wife's crop, that in little more than a year's time they have a house and forty acres of land, all paid for, and a new crop, worth \$500, which will soon be ready for market. This may not seem very remarkable to any one who has never seen a sand hill, nor yet been to Canada; but to me it was a miracle. My object in mentioning this fact, however, is to state that Mr. Smith also planted a few seeds of Sea Island cotton, the product of which has been sent to New York and pronounced worth 14c. per pound.—Now, there are numbers of colored men recently from the Southern States, skilled in, and some who have made fortunes by the cultivation of cotton, at perhaps not more than eight or nine cents per pound, when, too, it had been replanted every year. It produces here without replanting, almost indefinitely, but it is safe to say every seven years. The query is this: give half a dozen such men as Smith a cotton-gin, (\$350,) send them out here, and would they not accomplish more for the elevation of the colored race by the successful cultivation of cotton, in eighteen months, than all the mere talkers in as many years?'

The cotton plant is indigenous to the tropical regions of both hemispheres, but cultivation has so modified it, that the number of its species is so uncertain, and is variously given by different authorities. The divisions generally recognized are three, designated commonly as the herbaceous, shrub and tree cotton. The herbaceous include the plants producing upland and short-stapled cotton.—Most of the varieties grown in the United States belong to this division. The long-stapled sea cotton, which is considered the finest, belong to the arborescent or shrub variety. The seeds of the short staple cotton are green and in size larger than those of the grape. They are sown every year. The plants grow to the height of one and a half to two feet, and bear dark green leaves. The flowers are pale yellow, with purple spots at the base. A triangular pod succeeds the flowers, and contain, in three cells, the seeds and the three locks of white down, which burst forth and cover the shell of the pod, when this opens at its maturity. The shrub cotton grows wherever the herbaceous is found. In the West Indies it is triennial.—The shrub, or arborescent variety, resembles in size and appearance a large currant bush. The pod differs from that of the herbaceous, in being of an oval form and of larger size. The tree cotton grows to the height of fifteen to twenty feet. It is this variety which is



found in Hayti, though all the other varieties can be easily raised there. The fibre is remarkable for its length, strength, silkiness, and yellowish tinge. The seeds are black.—But all varieties of the cotton plant can be raised in Hayti, with much greater success than that attending the puny annual of the Gulf States. The Sea Island variety—on the production of which South Carolina prides itself, and the plant of which in that State rises only to the height of two feet, and is killed each winter by the frosts, yielding only about 320 lbs. per acre, from which 50 or 60 per cent. must be deducted for the weight of seed—is proven to yield, in Jamaica, two crops of 500 lbs. each per acre, or 1000 lbs. per year. The soil of Hayti is superior to that of Jamaica, and the yield will be proportionally greater. The statistics of the two islands at the close of the last century, when both were at the height of their prosperity, prove this conclusively. The Sea Island cotton plant in Hayti becomes perennial, and grows to from four to six feet in height and spread.

A comparison may be easily made as to the relative productiveness of this staple in Hayti and the cotton States. A bale of average weight of marketable cotton to the acre is a large yield. The census returns for 1850 give the following as the average product per acre of cotton and seed in the States named, the seed constituting 50 to 60 per cent. of the whole weight :

	Pounds.
South Carolina.....	320
Georgia.....	500
Florida.....	250
Tennessee.....	300
Alabama.....	525
Louisiana.....	550
Mississippi.....	650
Arkansas.....	750
Texas.....	750

Hayti will yield as much as experiments show Jamaica and Honduras to produce, viz.: 500 lbs. each crop, or 1000 per year.

The Hon. E. G. Squier, formerly U. S. Charges d' Affaires at Nicaragua, and author of a work on Central America, in a late letter to Senator Anthony of Rhode Island, suggests Central America as a source from which to obtain a supply of cotton. As what he therein says will apply with equal and even greater force to Hayti, extracts are here appended :

‘The seceding States of this Union are perfectly well aware that, rightly or wrongly, the spirit and principles of the age are hostile to slavery, and will be openly or covertly antagonistic to any system of government which recognizes human bondage as an element in its organization. But they believe, at the same time, that the material interests of nations will compel from them a compromise with their consciences, and that they can wring from the necessities of Europe and the Northern States a toleration if not an open support, of a system of labor abhorrent to their sentiments and civilization. In other words, they believe that their great staple, cotton, can bind down the intellect, paralyze the moral sense, restrain the spirit, and disarm the physical power of the age and the world. This belief, and their reliance for their future, have been formulized in the phrase, “Cotton is King.” And they, no doubt, really believe that the fibre of a plant, which they only produce imperfectly, and in spite of natural laws, by a system of forced labor, can never be supplied from other sources, or the industrial and commercial world relieved from its present dependence on them for this important, not to say vital, staple.

‘But they forget that cotton is indigenous over more than one-third of the globe, and that it is produced over more than one-half of South America, the larger part of Mexico, and throughout all Central America and the islands of the

Antilles, in greater perfection, at less cost of labor and capital, and in more than double the quantity, acre for acre, than in the most favored portions of the Southern States. And they assume, with a dogmatism by no means justified by facts or experience, that free, and more especially white labor, is incapable of cotton cultivation, and that it can under no circumstances be relied on to supply any important part of the world's consumption.

‘I am sorry to concede that the sordid instincts and apparent material interests of men and nations do, too often, control their conduct and policy to the sacrifice of their judgment and principles; but as yet we have seen no evidence that either Manchester or Lowell is ready to admit the right or beneficence of slavery, or agree to its perpetuation as part of the price which they are to pay for their cotton. They may, perhaps, believe that this staple can be amply supplied elsewhere than in the Southern States, and under a system of labor repugnant neither to their consciences or notions of a wise economy.

‘However this may be, it is nevertheless certain that the sources of cotton-supply are various and abundant, and that whenever the exigency shall arise, whether from a mistaken policy on the part of the South, or from servile insurrection, British and Northern capital and enterprise will speedily open up new fields of production, sufficient to supply the demand of manufactures and fill the channels of commerce.’

Again; the writer says, after describing the physical advantages of the country he recommends, (which will apply equally as well to Hayti,) that—

‘It will be objected that these natural advantages are overborne by the deficiency of labor, or that cotton cannot be produced under any circumstances, however favorable, by free labor. I shall not stop to discuss the accuracy of the latter conclusion, or rather assumption, for the reason that the burthen of proof belongs to those making it.’

The colored people of this country can easily supply whatever labor Hayti may need. It is for them to decide whether they will aid in the overthrow of slavery by an attack upon so vital a point as this of the cotton supply, while at the same time they uplift themselves in the scale of progress, and compel the respect of other people in consequence thereof. H.

#### NEGOTIATING FOR THE SALE OF THE MARYLAND AND DELAWARE SLAVES.

A correspondent writes from Washington that there is a project on foot to make Delaware and Maryland Free States, by having the General Government, with the consent of the owners, to purchase their slaves. Several leading citizens of Baltimore had an interview on Saturday with certain Northern Members of Congress to ascertain their opinion—a better opinion—whether the new Administration would be willing to purchase the Slaves in those States at a fair price, if the owners would consent to sell them and then colonize such of them as their masters refused to retain as hired servants. The Congressmen gave an affirmative answer, and thought the people of the North would cheerfully acquiesce in the proposition.

The Baltimore gentlemen stated that if the Union was to be dissolved, Maryland, as a Slave State, would go with the South, though her interests and geographical position placed her with the Free States. But whether the Union continues or divides, Slavery is felt to be an incubus on the prosperity of Maryland. Slavery is slowly dying out, having decreased 6,000 in the last decade. It was stated at the conference that there were only 80,000 slaves in the State, which, at \$500 per head, old and young—a higher price than they will bring for years to come—would only be \$40,000,000. A duty of 10 per cent. on the \$400,000,000 of annual imports would pay for them in a single year. One per cent. duty would pay the interest on the bonds, and create a sinking fund that would liquidate the principal in a few years. The Baltimore gentlemen remarked that, once a Free State, Northern capital, skill, labor, and enterprise would flow in a broad stream

into Maryland, property would enhance, business improve, and white population rapidly increase. Baltimore would soon rival Philadelphia as a manufacturing city, and Maryland would be converted into a garden to supply the wants of Northern cities.

Delaware has only two thousand slaves.—One million of dollars would indemnify the owners, and make her a Free State. Missouri has but one hundred thousand slaves. Fifty millions would pay for them, and make her rival Illinois in wealth, population and improvement. Thus less than \$100,000,000 would rid them all of an institution for which neither their climate nor products are suited, and bestow on them the advantages of free labor. The Baltimoreans say that free trade and direct taxation will become the established policy of a Southern confederacy, and it will be ruled by the South Carolina and Cotton-States school of political economists.—The federal expenses of a Southern confederacy would not be less than thirty millions a year, of which Maryland would have to pay two millions. Her present State taxes are three hundred and sixty thousand per year; hence her taxes would be increased six fold, while her manufacturing interests would be destroyed under the operation of free trade and direct taxation. Virginia would have to pay over four millions, Kentucky and Missouri each three millions, and little Delaware one-quarter of a million of dollars. These border States could not escape from this Juggernaut machine by seceding from the cotton confederacy and reuniting with the ‘stars and stripes,’ or setting up for themselves. In either event, what would become of their slaves? The Baltimoreans thought the best thing for Maryland was to sell her slaves, employ the proceeds to build manufactories and improve farms, and place herself in the society of the great family of Free Labor States, partake of their prosperity, and enjoy their powerful protection and friendship.

FLAX COTTON.—The subject of discussion before the Massachusetts Legislative Agricultural Society, on the 5th ult., was the culture of flax, and its preparation for spinning. There is reason to believe, incredible as it may seem, that the substitute has been found which, before another generation passes away, will take the place of cotton in so large a degree as not only to drive ‘King Cotton’ from his throne and reduce him to the ranks, but to relieve the world from dependence on him altogether—enable it, in fact, to have plenty of shirts, if need be, without being helplessly dependent upon him and his worshippers. In the adjoining city of Roxbury a manufactory is now established which imports rough flax from Iowa, converts it into various conditions suitable for mixing with cotton, wool, or silk, or to be made into cloth by itself, and it is doing a profitable business. A substance equal in value to middling cotton, can be produced at ten cents a pound, and leave ample profit. As the process goes on, new machinery, or new inventions, will be brought in to facilitate the movement and make it a regular, important and permanent business.

KANSAS ADMITTED.—After five years of bitter persecution, and the endurance of a greater degree of malevolence than has been inflicted upon any other free commonwealth, Kansas, at last, takes her station among the States of the confederacy—the thirty-fourth in order of succession, but always to be first in right of her narrow escape from martyrdom. The President has already announced to Congress his approval of the bill providing for her admission; and immediately afterwards her representative (Mr. Conway, a Republican) was sworn in. So one more star gleams upon the field of the national ensign, and the new State in the West assumes the rank which should long ago have been hers. The incoming of Kansas is a fair offset to the outgoing of South Carolina. The perturbed territory becomes a peaceful state, while the seceding state is drifting upon the shoals, and will be lucky if she escapes total wreck. The comparison is suggestive.



## THE COMPROMISE MEASURES.

Below we publish the substance of all the leading plans of compromise which have been brought before Congress :

## THE BORDER STATE COMPROMISE

1. Recommending the repeal of all the Personal Liberty bills.
2. That the Fugitive Slave Law be amended for the preventing of kidnapping, and so as to provide for the equalization of the Commissioners' fee, &c.
3. That the Constitution be so amended as to prohibit any interference with slavery in the States where it now exists.
4. That Congress shall not abolish slavery in the Southern dockyards, arsenals, &c., nor in the District of Columbia, without the consent of Maryland and the consent of the inhabitants of the District, nor without compensation.
5. That Congress shall not interfere with the inter-State slave trade.
6. That there shall be a perpetual prohibition of the African slave trade.
7. That the line of 36° 30 min. shall be run through all the existing territory of the United States; that in all north of that line slavery shall be prohibited, and that south of that line neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature shall hereafter pass any law abolishing, prohibiting, or in any manner interfering with African slavery; and that when any Territory containing a sufficient population for one member of Congress in any area of 60,000 square miles, shall apply for admission as a State, it shall be admitted, with or without slavery as its Constitution may determine.

## MR. ETHERIDGE'S COMPROMISE.

1. Congress shall have no power to regulate or control within the States, the relations established or recognized by the law of any State respecting persons held to service or labor.
2. Congress shall have no power to interfere with or abolish the relations recognized by the laws of the District of Columbia respecting persons held to service or labor, without the consent of the States of Maryland and Virginia, and also the consent of the inhabitants of the said District, and without making just compensation in the premises.
4. Congress shall have no power to prohibit the removal or transportation from one State to another of persons held to service or labor.
5. The immigration or importation from abroad of persons held to service or labor for life, or for a term of years, or persons intended to be so held and carried into any of the States, is perpetually prohibited, and Congress shall pass all laws necessary to make said prohibition effective.
6. No Territory beyond the present limits of the Territories of the United States, shall hereafter be acquired or annexed to the U. S., unless the same be done by the concurrent vote of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, or the same be acquired by treaty by a vote of two-thirds of the Senate.

## MR. BIGLER'S COMPROMISE.

Article 1. That territory held, or that may hereafter be acquired by the United States, shall be divided by a line from east to west, on the parallel of 30° 30 min. north latitude.

Article 2. That in all the territory north of said line of latitude, involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, is prohibited; and in all territory south of said line, involuntary servitude, as it now exists in the States south of Mason and Dixon's line, is hereby recognized, and shall be sustained and protected by all the departments of the territorial governments; and when any territory north and south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the population requisite for a member of Congress, according to the then federal ratio of representation of the people of the United States, it shall then be the duty of Congress to admit such Territory into the

Union on terms of equality with the original States.

## THE MISSOURI AND CRITTENDEN COMPROMISES.

The following are the points of likeness and unlikeness of the Crittenden resolutions and the compromise of 1820 :

Missouri Compromise, 1820.	Crittenden Compromise, 1861.
§ 8. That in all that territory ceded by France to the U. States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° and 30 min. north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery or involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever repealed.—Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor, or service, as aforesaid.	1. In all the territories now or hereafter acquired north of latitude 36° 30 min., slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, is prohibited; while in all the territory south of that latitude, slavery is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all departments of the territorial government during its continuance. All the territory north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, when it contains a population necessary for a member of Congress, with a Republican form of government shall be admitted into the Union on an equality with the original States, with or without slavery, as the Constitution of the State shall prescribe.

2. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the States permitting slavery.

3. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia while it exists in Virginia and Maryland, or either;—nor shall Congress at any time prohibit the officers of the government or members of Congress, whose duties require them to live in the District of Columbia, bringing slaves there, and holding them as such.

4. Congress shall have no power to hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, whether by land, navigable rivers, or sea.

5. Congress shall have power by law to pay an owner who shall apply, the full value for a fugitive slave in all cases when the marshal is prevented from discharging his duty by force or rescue made after arrest.—In all such cases the owner shall have power to sue the county in which such violence or rescue was made, and the county shall have the right to sue the individuals who committed the wrong, in the same manner as the owner could sue.

6. No further amendment or amendments shall affect the preceding articles, and Congress shall never have power to interfere with slavery in the States where it is now permitted.

The last resolution declared that the Southern States have a right to the faithful execution of the laws for the recovery of slaves, and such laws ought not to be repealed or modified so as to impair their efficiency. All laws in conflict with the Fugitive Slave Law, it shall not be deemed improper for Congress to ask the repeal of.

The Fugitive Slave Law ought to be so altered as to make the fee of the Commissioner equal, whether he decides for or against the claimant, and the clause authorizing the

person holding the warrant to summon a *posse comitatus*, to be so as to restrict it to cases where violence or rescue is attempted. The laws for the suppression of the African slave trade ought to be effectually executed.

## MR. DOUGLASS'S SUBSTITUTE FOR THE CRITTENDEN AMENDMENTS—ARTICLE THIRTEEN.

Sec. 1. Congress shall make no laws in respect to domestic servitude in any Territory of the United States; and all Territorial Government shall be formed on the model and in the terms of the organic acts, approved Sept. 9, 1850, called 'The Compromise Measures;' and the validity of all Territorial enactments shall be finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, on appeal, or writ of error, from the Territorial Courts; but no new Territory shall be organized until it shall contain 20,000 white inhabitants; nor shall any new State be admitted into the Union until it shall contain the requisite population for a Representative in Congress, according to the then Federal ratio of representation.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have no power to abolish or interfere with the relation of persons held to service or labor in any State, under the laws thereof; nor in any place under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, and situate within the limits of any State or Territory under whose laws persons are held to service or labor; nor shall Congress have power to abolish or impair the relation of persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia, under the laws in force therein, without the consent of Maryland and Virginia, so long as such relation shall exist in either of those States, under the laws thereof; nor shall Congress have power to interfere with or prevent the removal of persons held to service or labor from one State or Territory to another.

Sec. 2. The African slave trade shall be forever suppressed, and it shall be the duty of Congress to make such laws as will effectually prevent the immigration or importation into the United States of persons held to service or labor for life, or for a period of years, or of any person intended to be so held in any State or place within the United States, under any pretense whatever.

Sec. 4. The second clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall be construed to include all crimes committed within and against the State or place from whence the fugitive fled, whether the acts charged were criminal or not in the place where the fugitive was found.

Sec. 5. The elective franchise and the right to hold office, whether Federal, State, Territorial, or Municipal, shall not be exercised by persons of the African race, in whole or in part.

Sec. 6. The U. S. shall have power to acquire districts of country in Africa or South America, for the colonization, at the expense of the Federal Treasury, of such free negroes and mulattoes as the several States may desire to have removed from within their limits, and from the District of Columbia, and such other places as may be under the jurisdiction of Congress.

Sec. 7. Whenever any person held to service or labor, as provided in the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, shall escape, and the marshal or other officer, whose duty it may be to arrest such fugitive, shall be prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation; or when, after arrest, such fugitive shall have been rescued by force, Congress shall have power, and it shall be its duty, to provide by law for the payment of the full value of such fugitive to the party to whom such service or labor may be due; and in all cases, when the United States shall pay for such fugitive, they shall have the right, in their own name, to sue the county in which such violence, intimidation or rescue was committed, to recover the amount paid by them with interest and damages;—and the said county, for its indemnity, may sue and recover from the wrong doers or rescuers the amount paid to the United States, together with interest and damages.



Sec. 8. The first and second clauses of the first section of the second article of the Constitution shall read as follows :

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. The President and Vice President shall hold their offices for the term of six years, and shall be ineligible to the office of President for the ensuing six years after having performed the duties of President, and shall be elected as follows :

The Legislature of each State, at its first session after any Federal census, shall divide said State into as many Congressional districts as it shall be entitled to Representatives in Congress ; which districts shall be as compact in form, and as nearly equal in population, as practicable. In each of said districts, one elector of President and Vice President shall be chosen by the people thereof having the qualifications requisite for electors of Representatives in Congress ; and, in addition, two electors for the State at large shall be chosen by the members of the Legislature, assembled in joint convention for that purpose, on the day appointed by Congress.

#### SECRET HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

A recent number of *New York Evening Post* contains a long article on this barbarous traffic, written by one of its able correspondents, from which we take the following extracts :

An organized company exists in the city of Havana, with a capital of \$1,000,000, whose sole business is to import negroes into the island of Cuba. Nine-tenths of the slaves imported are brought in vessels owned by this company, at the head of which is a Spaniard well known in that city—a large merchant—who conducts all its affairs. His manner of proceeding is this :

He writes to his correspondent in New York to purchase a vessel and procure a master. This correspondent is probably Mr. —, a naturalized citizen of the U. S., who places the business in the hands of Mr. —, a 'facile' ship broker. This last gentleman obtains the vessel—not too large or too expensive, in order to divide the risk of capture among several with the same amount of capital employed ! And, with as little difficulty, he procures a captain ; indeed, so well established is this business, and so well understood, that even the U. S. Marshals might see, if it were not unfortunately true that there are those so 'blind that they will not see.'

The ship bought for cash, the ownership is sworn to, in order to get a register, by this naturalized citizen and his captain. The next thing is to load and clear her from the Custom House. Not many months ago this was as easy matter. The American bark 'Wild-fire,' since captured with 500 negroes on board, was loaded in broad daylight with a regular slave cargo, at a pier on the East river, and, to the astonishment of the longshoremen in that vicinity, went to sea in tow of a steam-tug direct for Africa. Everybody knew it except the U. S. Marshal. A person told me, who I know is well versed in these matters, that for these little 'sins of omission' some convenient friend of the above-mentioned officer was in the habit of receiving a check, payable to bearer, for \$1,000.

In this way some seventy vessels are said to have sailed from the port of New York after cargoes of slaves, since 1st January last !

#### CLEARANCE OF SLAYERS AT HAVANA.

The vessel now takes a legal cargo to Havana, and, opportunely for the prosperity of this traffic, a recent decision of Mr. Attorney-General Black, at the suggestion, I believe, of the American Consul at Havana, relieves the latter gentleman, after the arrival of the vessel in that port, of all responsibility in reference to the legality of her future course. To those acquainted with the government officials in Havana, their sympathy with this trade and their natural affinity to bribery and corruption, it need not be told how easily such a

clearance can be obtained (a captain informed me that his clearance cost him six ounces—\$102) Our consul at Havana informed me that within the last twenty days he had passed through his office the clearances of eight American vessels which he KNEW were going after negroes.

#### PREPARING FOR A VOYAGE.

In the first place the ship takes in a new cargo, which consists of articles used in the purchase of the slaves and their subsistence on the homeward trip, viz : barrels of bread, tierces of rice, puncheons of rum, beans, jerked beef, tobacco, vinegar, powder, &c., together with lumber for the slave decks. (Specie is seldom sent out.) Next the crew is shipped, consisting usually of men of every nation :—these men agree to go the voyage upon terms that are well understood—so much advance, (say \$50,) and one and a half dollars per man for every negro landed in Cuba. In addition to the captain, mate and second mate, there comes on board a sallow-faced, gloomy Spaniard, who is generally Don Jose, or Don Somebodyelse, whose frequent voyages to 'the coast' are written in every line of his face.—He is the 'sobrecargo,' the great factotum and transactor—as when boarded by an American man-of-war—he hoists the Spanish flag and is the Spanish captain.

After this important character comes another man, called the 'contra maestro,' or boatswain. He is the 'nigger driver,' the brute who manages and beats into submission the human cargo on its homeward trip ; none but a Spaniard could look or be so cruel as he is. The ship's cargo and crew are now complete, and having 'cleared' from the Custom House and the American consulate, she sails out of port some bright morning with the American flag, that beautiful emblem of liberty to the oppressed, flaunting in the breeze, and speeds on a mission the horrors and cruelties of which my pen cannot describe.

The outward voyage will occupy about forty-five days. How this is employed by the captain and his incongruous crew I am unprepared to say ; perhaps in mutual speculations on their probable gains, and guesses as to how many 'damn niggers' will die before they land in Cuba, each one being worth to the meanest and vilest of this crew one dollar and a half.

#### AT THE CONGO.

But arrived in the river Congo, you perhaps imagine the dark night, the thick jungle and the stealthy tread of the man-stealer as the necessary adjuncts of this traffic. Quite the reverse, sir ; the ship sails unmolested some thirty miles up the river, and with all the bustle of a new arrival, hauls into a pier opposite the 'factory' and warehouse belonging to the Havana Company, which I before mentioned. The resident agent comes on board, and warmly welcomes his old friend the 'sobrecargo,' and after being introduced and taking 'a drink' with the captain, they adjourn on shore to a comfortable dinner, where, over their wine, they discuss the price of rum and the price of niggers.

In the meanwhile, on the wharf there assembles the most promiscuous crowd of men that perhaps you ever saw, the result of captures by men-of-war on the coast, and landed at convenient points, in order that they may be again taken with full cargoes, and thus over and over again put prize money in the pockets of her Britannic Majesty's naval officers. These men are the outcasts of all civilization—desperadoes, murderers, pirates—Chinese, Portuguese, native Africans, English, Dutch, devils ! As our ship left Havana with a small crew, to save appearances, a fit addition is made to it from these 'experts' in the abominable trade.

The next day, perhaps, a man-of-war steams up the river—for she has a coal depot opposite this very warehouse—and our captain receives a visit from her, cheerfully shows his regular manifest and clearance, certified by the American consul at Havana, and hoists his American flag, and sends back to the steamer a box of very good Havana cigars and a case of good brandy. Then the steam-

er sails away—perhaps to watch him at sea—for there is no prize money of any account in a vessel unless the negroes are on board !

He begins at once to discharge his cargo into the warehouse, and to receive from there empty casks, which were puncheons of rum brought by the preceding vessel of the company. These he places in the hold, to be filled with water from the river, and beside them he stows his barrels of provisions, and over all he lays his 'slave deck' upon temporary beams—the lumber for which he brought from Havana with him.

His water full, his provisions are stowed, and his extra cooking-stove on board from the warehouse, he reports himself ready for sea, and the 'sobrecargo' informs him that he has had a chance to select a fine lot of seven hundred and fifty out of a thousand waiting for shipment, at a cost, in bad rum, of \$50 a head ! Oh, this boasted Christian, civilized nineteenth century, which permits such a double-edged iniquity, the exchange of bad rum to ignorant barbarians for the blood and sweat of their own kith and kin !

#### SHIPPING THE NEGROES.

The agent now sends out his spies to report the mouth of the river all clear from cruisers, and with the first fair wind and ever-favoring current, the slaves are driven on board, naked as the day they were born, in one promiscuous huddle of men, women and children. The lines are cast off, and without a word of farewell these sons and daughters of Africa are carried away from their native soil, never, *under any circumstances*, to see it again—never to unite the ties that day so rudely severed—to suffer the horrors of the 'middle passage,' during which at least one-third of them *must* die, and the remainder finally doomed to a bondage compared to which death is a blessing. All this is done under the American flag, which, in the touching pathos of our national poetry, only 'waves o'er the free.'

#### A DAY ON BOARD A SLAVER.

A description of life on board for one day will answer for the voyage, usually about thirty-five days in length. Our ship is one hundred feet long and thirty wide, and on her deck, and under her deck, and on her cabin and in her 'cabin,' are stowed seven hundred and fifty human beings, so cramped and crowded that they can scarcely sit down when standing or stand up when sitting.

Early in the morning the crew lead a hose from the pump, and without regard to sex or condition, give each one a thorough bath, and then proceed to wash from the decks the accumulated filth and excrement of the previous day and night. Each negro then is compelled to wash out his mouth with vinegar—this is done to prevent scurvy. Now comes the morning meal, which consists of a pint of water and a quantity of boiled rice and beans. After breakfast the doctor makes his rounds, pitches overboard the dead and the dying, and administers medicine to such as are not beyond the hope of recovery. The principal diseases with which they have to contend are dysentery and ophthalmia, both of which are generally fatal, and both owing to confined space and foul atmosphere.

During the day the 'contra maestro' goes about among them with his whip ; crows down the boldest, and silences the noisiest with his merciless lash, and sometimes selects the weakest, takes them to the least crowded space, and makes them dance to the tune of his cow-hide—to restore circulation !

Dinner consists of the same, with the occasional addition of scraps of jerked beef. There is no change from this food during the voyage ; at times, when the negroes appear despondent or weak, they are given a little rum. At night they are compelled to lie down, 'spoon fashion' (as a housekeeper places her spoons in a basket ;) a canvas covering is hauled over them, and it is impossible for them to change their position until the following morning.

But we will pass over all of the sickening details of a lengthened voyage, the excitement of a chase, (when the negroes are frequently suffocated under the hatches,) the



frequent scantiness of water and provisions, with the consequent frightful mortality among the cargo and crew—often the 'wages of sin is death'—and the thousand and one barbarous incidents which merely to read of must awaken the liveliest feelings of our nature, but to witness and participate in must eventually harden and degrade a man until he becomes more brutal than a beast.

#### ARRIVAL AT CUBA.

We will now suppose our ship safely arrived at the 'Key St. Philip'—this is one of many of the secluded rendezvous abounding on the coast of Cuba. The captain drops his anchor, hoists his private signal, and the launches, which have been waiting since a certain fixed day, come off, and with them a Custom House officer, probably sent by the Governor of the district. The negroes are landed and sent off at once to some place where they are exercised, washed and fattened for the market. The company's agent pays off the crew, giving to each man his *pro rata*. The ship's anchor is raised—sail is made, holes are bored in the bottom—and the old craft, foul with crime and full of all uncleanness, is started forth upon the sea to surely sink, and thus obliterate from the records all evidence of the guilt in which she has been an innocent participator.

#### PROFITS OF THE VOYAGE.

The captain goes to Havana with one-half of his ship's register and a false bill of sale, which he forwards to the New York Custom House according to law, and in the meantime presents himself to his principal with the following balance sheet:

Dr.	
To first cost of ship.....	\$ 7,000
Advance wages.....	1,050
Captain's wages and venture..	10,000
Supercargo and boatswain....	5,000
Cost of negroes at \$50, (750.)..	37,500
Crew, \$750 per man.....	7,500
Bribes, &c.....	100,000
	168,500 168,500
Cr.	
500 negroes at \$800 a head.....	400 000
Net profit.....	\$231,500

Net profit, two hundred and thirty-one thousand five hundred dollars! and so ends the voyage. But at another time, and in another place, another balance sheet will be struck, and it would have been better then for this captain and his owner that a mill-stone had been hanged about their necks, and they had been buried in the depth of the sea, than to have reaped the wages of this damnable sin, which is eternal death.

OUR NEW U. S. SENATOR.—HON. IRA HARRIS, of Albany, who has been elected to succeed Gov. Seward in the Senate of the U. S., is, according to the *Tribune*, a man of marked ability. He took a leading part in the Constitutional Convention of 1846, is distinguished as a lawyer, and from July, 1847, to January, 1860, occupied a seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court of the IVth Circuit. For a man who has been so long engaged in judicial labors, he is remarkably well versed in political affairs. He is a thorough Republican, has many warm friends throughout the State, and his election to this important post will be gratifying to the great body of the party. He is a man of graceful presence, is a ready and easy speaker, and will no doubt take a leading part in the deliberations of the Senate. Upon the vital issues which now divide the country, we do not question that his course will fully justify the confidence reposed in him by his great constituency. He was a Whig of rather radical tendencies, an admirer of John Quincy Adams; and though his judicial functions long withheld him from the political arena, he is a firm and uncompromising friend of the principles which triumphed in the recent Presidential contest. His chief competitors for the post were Hon. Horace Greeley and William H. Evarts, Esq.

#### THE CRISIS IN THE U. S. SENATE.

##### PASSAGE BETWEEN SEWARD AND MASON.

The following discussion took place in the U. S. Senate, Jan. 31, on the occasion of Senator Seward's presenting a petition from 38,000 citizens of New York in favor of the Border State Resolutions:

MR. SEWARD.—Mr. President: Excepting the House of Representatives, this Senate Chamber is the largest hall that is or ever has been occupied by a legislative assembly since the world began. The memorial which I am charged to present is of such length that, if extended, would cross the Senate Chamber in its extended length eighteen times. I have already presented memorials from the City of New York, signed by citizens of that place to the number of 25,000, and this memorial bears the signatures of 38,000 more, making, in the whole, 63,000 of the inhabitants of that city, who have signed this appeal to the Senate. The Committee who have charge of this memorial, are a fair representation—I might also say an embodiment—of citizens who direct and wield the commerce of the great emporium of our country, the commerce of a continent, and a commerce which, this present year, owing to the distractions of the times, is put for the first time in a condition of proving itself to be the controlling commerce of the world. The memorial which they present may be regarded as a fair expression of the interest which is felt by that great commercial community, and probably a fair exponent of the interest in the same great subject, which is felt by the whole commercial interest of the United States, or in any other part of the world.—Such a communication would command obedience in England, France, Russia, Prussia, or Germany—a demonstration of the will of the commerce of a country decides questions of war or peace. Happily, sir, that it is not the case in this great Republic. The interest of commerce is but one, the interest of agriculture, manufactures, and mining, each of them is another—each are entitled to, and each secures equal respect—and the consideration which they obtain is due, not to their number—nor to their wealth, but due to the circumstances under which they lend their advice to the Government. But I do not hesitate to say the character of these petitioners entitle them to the respectful attention and consideration of Congress, and they have asked me to support this petition. I have not yet found, though I have anxiously waited for, and hoped for, that manifestation of temper on the part of the people of the country and their Representatives, which would justify me in saying that the Seceding States, or those who sympathize with them, have made propositions which the citizens of adhering States could accept, or as I desire to speak with impartiality upon this, as on all other occasions, to put the proposition in another form, that this or any other of various propositions which have come from the citizens of adhering States, or those who desire to adhere to the Union, would not be acceptable and satisfactory to the other party. I have thought it my duty to hold myself open and ready for the best adjustment which could be practically made, and I have therefore been obliged to ask this Committee to be content with the assurance that I would express to the public and to the Senate that the spirit in which they come, is perfectly commendable and perfectly satisfactory. It is gratifying for me to see that a proper spirit—a spirit of fraternal kindness, and of conciliation and affection—is adopted by so large a portion of my fellow-citizens of the State in which I belong. I have asked them also, in return for performing my duty on this occasion, that when they have arrived at home, they will act in the same spirit, and manifest their devotion to the Union above all other interests, and all other sentiments for the Union, by voting for the Union, and if it should be demanded, by lending, and even giving their money for the Union, and fighting in it as the last resort for the Union, taking care always that speaking goes before voting, voting goes before giving money, and all go before a battle, which I should regard as hazardous and dangerous, and therefore the last, as it would be the most painful measure to be resorted to for the salvation of the Union.—This is the spirit in which I have determined for myself to come up to this great question,

to pass through it, as I sincerely believe we shall pass through it, for, although the great controversy has not been already settled, I do not therefore any the less calculate upon and expect that it will be peacefully settled, and settled for the Union. I have not been so rash as to expect that in sixty days, which have been allowed to us since the meeting of Congress, and I will be frank, sir, in saying I have not expected that in ninety days, which are the allotted term of Congress, this great controversy would certainly be adjusted, peace restored, and the Union firmly re-established. I know, sir, that sixty or ninety days was the term that was fixed with definite objects and purposes by that portion of my fellow citizens who have thought that it could consult the interests of the State to which they belonged to disserve the Union. I have not expected that reason and judgment would come back to the people and become so prevailing and universal as that they would appreciate the danger and be able to agree on the remedies. Still, I have been willing that should be tried, though unsuccessfully, but my confidence has remained sound for this simple reason, that as I have not believed that the passion and frenzy of the hour could overturn this great fabric of constitutional liberty and empire in ninety days, so I have felt sure that there would be time even after the expiration of ninety days for the restoration of all that had been lost, and for the re-establishment of all that was in danger. A great many, and various interests and elements are brought into conflict in this sudden crisis, a great many personal ambitions, and a great many sectional interests, and it would be strange if they would all be accommodated, arranged and harmonized, so as to admit and give full effect to the one profoundest and most enduring sentiment or passion of the United States, that of devotion to the Union. These—whether you call them Secession or Revolution on the one side, or coercion or defiance on the other—are all to subside and pass away before the Union, which is to become the grand absorbing object of interest, affection, and duty upon the part of the citizens of the United States. A great many partisan interests are to be repressed and suppressed to give peace to the partisan interests expressed by the Charleston Platform, the Baltimore Platform, the Chicago Platform, by the Popular Sovereignty Platform, if, indeed, the Union is in danger, and is to be saved. With these interests and with these platforms, everybody standing upon them or connected with them is to pass away, if the Union is in danger and is to be saved. But it will require a very short time, if this Union is in danger, and does require to be saved, for all these interests, all these platforms, and all these men to disappear. You, everybody who shall oppose, resist, or stand in the way of the preservation of this Union, will appear as moths on a Summer's eve, when the whirlwind of popular indignation arises that shall be excited at the full discovery that this Union is endangered through faction, and even impracticability on the one part I have hope and confidence that this is to come around just as I have said; and quite soon enough, because I perceive, although we may shut our eyes to it, that the country and mankind cannot shut their eyes to the true nature of this crisis. There has been a real, a vital question in this country for twelve years—at least a question of Slavery in the Territories of the United States. It was strongest in its development in 1850, when all the Pacific coast, and all the territory intervening between it and the Louisiana purchase was thrown upon our hands all of a sudden, for the purpose of our organizing in them free and independent Republican Governments as a basis of future States, and it has been an earnest, and, I regret to say, an angry controversy, but the admission of Kansas into the Union yesterday settled, at least, all that was vital or important in the question, leaving behind nothing but the passions which the contest had engendered. Kansas is in the Union, California and Oregon are in the Union, and now the same contest divides and distracts this Union for Freedom and Slavery in the Territories of the United States just as before. What is the extent of the Territories which remain, after the admission of Minnesota, Oregon, and of Kansas?—One million, sixty-three thousand, five hundred square miles, an area twenty-four times that of the State of New York, the largest of



the old and fully developed States. Twenty-four such States as this of New York are yet to be fully organized within the remaining Territories of the United States. Now, under what is accepted by the Administration and the Government as a judicial decree, upheld by it, and put in practical operation by it, every inch of that territory is slave territory. I speak of that decision not as I accept it, but as it is accepted and enforced by the existing Administration. Every foot of it is slave territory as much as South Carolina. Over a considerable portion of it a Slave Code, made by a Government created by the Congress of the United States, is enforced, so that, according to the claims of those who insist upon their rights in the Territory of the United States for Slavery, the whole of this 1,063,500 square miles is slave territory. How many slaves are there in it? How many have been brought into it during these twelve years in which it has been not only relinquished to Slavery, but in which the Supreme Court, the Legislature, and the Administration have maintained, protected, and guaranteed Slavery there? Twenty-four African slaves! One slave for every forty-four thousand square miles. One slave for every one of the twenty-four States, which supposing them each to be of the dimensions of New York, or Pennsylvania, or Indiana, cover that portion of the area of our Republic. Sir, I have followed this thing in good faith, and with zeal and energy, but I confess that I have no fears of Slavery anywhere.—In the peculiar condition of things which has existed, Slavery has succeeded in planting only one Slave upon every 44,000 square miles of Territory. This, then, has ceased to be a practical question. In lieu of this comes up a great, and vital, and fearful question—the question of union or of dissolution of the Union; the question of country or of no country; the question of hope, the question of greatness, or the question of sinking forever under the contempt of mankind. Why, then, should I despair that a great nation of thirty millions will be able to meet this crisis? I have no fears of this Confederacy. It is not an imperial government, or the government of a single State. It is a Confederacy, and it is, as it ought to be, dependent upon the continued assent of all the members of the Confederacy to its existence, and subject to dissolution by their action. But that assent is to be always taken by virtue of the original assent, and held until, in the form prescribed by the Constitution itself, and in the time, and in the manner, and with all the conditions which the Constitution prescribes, and those who constitute the Union, shall declare that it shall be no longer the thirty days, and sixty days, and ninety days given us by the Disunionists; it may not be enough for their purposes. I hope and wish that it may be time enough for the policy and purposes of the Union. God grant that it may be so; but if thirteen shall turn out not to be enough, then I see how and when all these great controversies will be settled, just as our forefathers saw when they framed the Constitution.—They provided, seventy years ago, for this controversy. This whole controversy shall be submitted to the people of the United States, in a Convention called according to the forms of the Constitution, and acting in the manner prescribed by it. Then, Sir, this country will find sudden relief in the prompt and unanimous adoption of measures necessary for its salvation, and the world will see how well and how wisely a great, enlightened, educated, Christian people, consisting of thirty-four sovereign States, can adjust difficulties which had seemed, even to themselves, as well as to mankind, to be insurmountable.

Mr. MASON, (Dem., V.):—Now that the Union is in process of disintegration, what do we hear from the honorable Senator from N. Y.? Why, the honorable Senator, in the midst of a maze of generalities, which marked his speech—and it was a maze and a misty one—in that general maze, he marched to the line, and told us what his policy was, and I assume it is the policy of those he is to bring into power. And what was it he told us? His recommendation to these gentlemen, who have sent here this enormous petition? Not adopting their views, not looking to any amendment of the Constitution whatever. But his recommendation is to give us, in four distinct propositions, what is to be the policy of those whom he is to lead. Why, he recommended that these gentlemen, when they went home, should employ themselves in the great

work of restoring the breaches made in the Union. How? Why, he said, speak first, next vote for the Union, next give money for the Union, and the last, fight for the Union. These are the four measures proposed by the Senator to heal the gaping breach in the Union.—I can understand what he means when he recommends his constituents to speak for the Union. I can understand when he recommends them to vote for the Union. But I would like to know what he means when he recommends them to give money for the Union.

Mr. SEWARD—During the present session of Congress, the Government has seen a sudden depreciation in its finances from the condition of things a year or two ago, when the stocks of the Government were at a premium. Since then they have fallen, until the credit of the Government was at a discount of 30 per cent., while the credit of the State of New York is at a premium. To this commercial community I have recommended here publicly, as I have heretofore privately, that they should advance to the Union, as they are advancing to the Union funds by which the President, Congress, the Departments, yourself and myself, and, in short, every Department of the Government, is sustained; I have recommended to them at this crisis that they should sustain the Government of their country, and maintain the credit to which it is entitled.

Mr. MASON—I presumed that was the use he intended should be made of this money which he advised these gentlemen to contribute. I did not, in mind, do the honorable Senator the injustice to believe that with this money he proposed to subsidize or demoralize the Southern States. I took it for granted that it was to sustain the army that was to conduct the fight, which he recommends.

Mr. SEWARD—I am sure the honorable Senator does not intend to misrepresent me. I contemplated, after the expiration of all compromises, a Convention of the people of the United States, called in the Constitutional form; and after that Convention shall be held, or refused to be held—when it is impossible anything can be done but that, by force of arms, this Union is to stand or fall, I have advised my people to do as I shall be ready to do myself—to stand by the Union, to stand or perish with it. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. MASON—I wanted to bring the honorable Senator, who is the exponent of the new Administration, to the policy by which it is to be directed. I understand from him now, that all remedies failing, through the Constitution or a Convention of the States, his recommendation is battle—bloodshed to preserve the Union. His recommendation to the people is, that they shall contribute money, which shall march an army upon the South—for what? To preserve the Union. It is gone. It is broken. There is no union now in this country. Sir, those States were out; and if the battle is to be fought, it is to be fought against them for the purpose of reducing them to subjection and dependence.

Mr. SEWARD—I looked to no such contingency as seceded States and a dissevered Union. I looked to no such condition of things. The honorable Senator and I differ equally in regard to the future and in regard to the present. He, with the earnestness of an ardent imagination, sees this country hereafter rent and dissevered into separate confederacies. I see no such thing in the future. But I do see a returning of reason and judgment of the American people, and a return of harmony, and a consolidation of the Union firmer than ever before. The honorable Senator may very well see that we may differ in our anticipations of the future, because we differ so much in regard to the actual living present.

Sir, I am in the Union of the United States—this same blessed, glorious, highly-inherited, God-given Union. I am in the Senate Chamber of the United States, pleading for maintaining the Union. The honorable Senator says it is gone—that there is no Union, yet he is here, on this same floor with me, and where is he? In the Union or out of it?—He is actually present here, and I hold him to be in the Union. I will not refer to those associates of his and mine who are not here now. But the Senate Chamber is here.—The seats are here, the States are here, the Union is here, here are all these, and I expect that there will be in the returning of reason, a further choice from those States, and these places will be filled.

If I contemplated that, in any case, it would be necessary to fight for this Union, it is because I know that treason and sedition may—not alone in the States of the South, but in the States of the North, anywhere and everywhere—be excited and alarmed so as to assail the Union. And whenever it shall come to that, whether in my State or any other State of the Union, then I expect whatever can be done shall be done, that reason can do; then I expect what is left to be done shall be done in the way that is necessary.

Mr. MASON—I give the Senator the full advantage of his present commentary upon the speech which preceded. I want to place before the American people the fact that he proposes but one remedy, either to preserve this Union or restore it, and that is the *ultima ratio regis*.

Mr. SEWARD [in his seat]—I did no say restored. I said preserve.

Mr. MASON—Well, let the Senator choose his language. He has presented the argument of the tyrant—force, compulsion and power—as the only resort. He says he is to punish treason and sedition, whether he finds it North or South, and that is the only remedy he proposes in the existing state of facts. The next thing in the four acts of the drama which is to be enacted, is battle.

I trust, in despite of these counsels, these reports which are now making through the mediation of my honored State may restore harmony to the Government, and that there is an enlightened patriotism in this country that will meet and separate in peace.

Mr. SEWARD—I have been amazed and surprised at the delusion of the Senator from Virginia to make out of a speech, pacific, fraternal, and cordial, such as I have made, a declaration of war. I cannot account for it. While his sense of honor remains so clear and bright that he avoids all those personalities which might vitiate, yet his judgment is somehow so under his passion, that he cannot see anything but war. In a speech which proposes simply this—that, since this Union is in danger, every other question must yield to the consideration of the removal of that danger by the pacific constitutional action of the American people, by speaking first, by voting, by defending the Union where it stands, by supplying and maintaining the credit of the Government, and last, in the last alternative, after everything is exhausted, all the existing modes of settlement, and all others that may be suggested, and finally a Convention, a constitutional Convention, then to stand by this good old flag, and if it is to fall from its eminence, to be wrapped in its folds.

Sir, that the honorable Senator should have recollected that when I came into the Committee of thirteen, I listened to every proposition which was made. And will any one say that I offered up no prejudices, no concessions to propitiate an agreement? What propositions did I refuse to consider? None. And when I voted to substitute a constitutional provision for the settlement of this question, in preference to a proposition which requires to take, in an unconstitutional and ineffectual way, the sentiments of the people upon the resolutions of the Senator from Kentucky? I did it in a spirit of kindness and concession. This very proceeding of the State of which the Hon. Senator speaks so proudly, I recommended to my own State, and it is now acting in sending Commissioners to meet the other States in their Convention. And does not the Hon. Senator know that the State of New York stands ready to hear and consider every plan to settle this question peaceably and without resort to the sword? And that I am with the State of New York in that?

But I learn from the interest, for which the Senator seems to speak, that no suggestion which has been made, or which can be made, will satisfy the interest of Secession. If after all this has failed, the States of this Union who agree to stand by the Constitution will take up and settle this controversy about twenty-four slaves in a territory of 1,050,000 square miles, or whether, with the Senator from Virginia, they are willing to sacrifice all this liberty, all this greatness, all this happiness, all this hope, wisdom, virtue, and intelligence, this common dispute.

Mr. MASON said he was speaking for Virginia. She would never remain in the confederation unless guarantees be effectually made for the preservation of her rights. He said that he was not willing to submit the question to the mass of the American people, but the Constitution recognizes the people as people of the states.

#### PASSAGE BETWEEN SUMNER AND CRITTENDEN.

In the Senate, Feb. 12, the following discussion took place between Senators Sumner and Crittenden:

Mr. CRITTENDEN (S. Am., Ky.) presented a petition signed by 23,230 citizens of Massachusetts in favor of the Crittenden resolu-



tions. He said he honored such people, and felt cheered by such a voice from Massachusetts. It showed them devoted to the Union for which their ancestors fought.

Mr. SUMNER (Rep., Mass.) said: These petitions ask, as I understand it, for the passage of what is familiarly known as the Crittenden Propositions. Their best apology for this petition is their ignorance of the character of those propositions. Had they known what they were, they never would have put their names to that petition. Those resolutions go beyond the Breckinridge platform, which has already been solemnly condemned by the American people. They foist into the Constitution of the U. S. constitutional guaranties of slavery, which the framers of that instrument never gave—which Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Patrick Henry, and John Jay, if we may credit the testimony of their whole lives and opinions, would have scorned. Had any such proposition been made the condition of union, this Union never could have been formed. Mr. Mason told us in the Convention that it was wrong to attempt to put in the Constitution the idea of property in man, but these propositions propose to interpolate that idea, and, practically carrying it out, they run a black line on the latitude of 36° 30 min., and give constitutional protection to slavery in all the territory south of that line now belonging to the Republic;—and to make the case still more oppressive, and still more impossible to be received at the North, they make it applicable to all the territory hereafter to be acquired, so that the flag of the Republic, as it moves southward, shall always be the flag of slavery, and every future acquisition in that direction shall be Africanized, and that by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. That is about enough in this age of civilization. But that is not all. Still further, they insist upon guaranties to slavery in the National capital, and in other places within the Federal jurisdiction. Nor is this all. As if to make it especially offensive to the people of the North, and to the people of Massachusetts, they propose to despoil our colored fellow-citizens of their political franchise, a long time secured to them by the institutions of that honored Commonwealth. Sir, it is for these things that these petitioners now pray. They insist that they shall be interpolated in the Constitution of the U. S. I have an infinite respect for the right of petition, and I desire always to promote the interests, and to carry forward the just and proper desires of my fellow-citizens. But I must express my regret that these gentlemen have missed the opportunity, after uniting in such numbers, of calling plainly and unequivocally, as savers of the Union of their fathers, for two things—two things all sufficient for the present occasion, and with regard to which I should expect the sympathies of the Hon. Senator from Kentucky. First—the Constitution of the United States, as administered by George Washington, to be preserved intact and blameless in its text, without any tinkering or patching. And, secondly, the verdict of the people last November, by which Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States, to be enforced without price or faltering. There is ground upon which every patriot and loyal citizen of the land can stand, and he has over him then the Constitution and the flag of his country. You had better have that, Sir, than any scheme, device, jugglery, or hocus pocus called a compromise. On such ground, all men who really love the Union and the country, can take their stand without an 'if' or a 'but.' I remember, Sir, on the night of the passage of the Nebraska bill, it was after midnight, I made the declaration in debate that the time for compromise had passed. The events now taking place all verify this truth. It is obvious that the existing difficulties can now be arranged only on permanent principles of justice, and freedom, and humanity. Any seeming settlement founded upon an abandonment of principle, will be but a miserable patchwork, which cannot succeed. It was only a short time ago,

you will remember, Sir, the whole country was filled with shame and dismay, as the report came to us of the surrender of Southern forts, and when it was known that Fort Sumter, too, was about to be given up, a cry went forth from the heart of the people, by which that fortress was saved, at least, for the present. Propositions are now made and bro't forward by the Senator from Kentucky, and now enforced by a petition from the people of my own State, calling upon the North to surrender its principles—to surrender its impregnable principles of human rights, which constitute our Northern forts. It is even proposed now to surrender the principle of freedom in the Territories—the Fort Sumter of the North. I trust, Sir, that they will yet be saved, and as their safety depends upon the President, I trust that the cry will go forth from the people like that which went forth from them a few days ago to save that other Fort Sumter when it was menaced. For myself, if I stand with many or with few, or alone, I have but one thing to say—no surrender of the Fort Sumter of the North—no surrender of any of our Northern forts. No, Sir, not one. But the bankers and merchants throw out their fears, and they tell us the Government shall not have money if we do not surrender our principles. Then, again, Sir, I appeal to the people. I believe the American people are not more unpatriotic than the French, and only want the opportunity to show it—to come forward and relieve the necessities of the Government, as the French people recently, at the hint of Louis Napoleon, came forward with a loan composed of small sums. Our Government stands upon the aggregate virtue and intelligence of the people, and it only remains now that we should make an appeal to the aggregate wealth of the people—the farmer, the laborer, the mechanic. Every man who truly loves his country, will be willing to give of his earnings to uphold the Constitution and the national flag, and out of these small earnings, inspired by a genuine patriotism, we shall have a full treasury.—There is but one thing now for the North to do—that is, to stand firm in their position.—They may be guided by one of the greatest patriots of the age—I mean Lafayette—who, in his old age, when his experience had been ripened by time, and while looking over the unutterable calamities of the old French Revolution, said, 'It was his solemn duty to declare that, in his opinion, they were to be referred not to the bad passions of men, but to those timid counsels that sought to substitute compromise for principle.' Lafayette may well speak to his American fellow-citizens now, to caution them against any timid counsels that would substitute compromise for principles.

Mr. CRITTENDEN said he supposed the signers of the petition were intelligent men. When he presented the propositions he presented them as a basis of peace, but why had not gentlemen offered to amend?

Mr. SUMNER said he thought them wrong in every word and every line.

Mr. CRITTENDEN—Had the gentleman no propositions to make?

Mr. SUMNER said he had—the Constitution as administered by Washington and our fathers.

Mr. CRITTENDEN—Why did he not move that then?

Mr. SUMNER said he had voted for the resolutions of the Senator from New Hampshire, which expressed his idea.

—The Kentucky Colonization Society, in order to relieve the free people of color in that State from the embarrassing position in which they have been placed by its Free Negro law, which went into operation on January 1st, 1861, has offered to such of them as are willing to emigrate to Liberia, a free passage thither and support for six months after their arrival. Those having families are offered, in addition, ten acres of land as a free gift, upon condition that they will settle on it. Five acres are offered, upon the same terms, to every unmarried adult, male and female.

—By recent letters from Liberia, it appears that the Liberian Republic had captured two slave schooners.

#### SLAVERY AND THE IRISH ELEMENT.

Thos. D'Arcy McGee recently delivered a lecture before the St. Patrick's Literary Association of Montreal, from which we take two brief extracts:

'Twice within a few years, I have had cause to hang my head in shame, for Irish honors in America. Once, when a brilliant and honest writer, but whose sanity is very uncertain, Mr. Mitchell, publicly advocated the reopening by the South of that traffic accursed of God and man—the African slave-trade. The second time was recently, on reading the vigorous speech of Mr. Charles O'Connor, at the Union meeting in New York, where that gentleman laid down the extraordinary proposition, 'political parties should never be divided upon moral questions.'

If Mr. O'Connor withdraws every ethical foundation from politics and parties, I should like to know upon what other foundation will he plant them? If he disarms his politics and his party of all moral force, how can he longer speak of 'the duty' of the citizen to the Constitution he has 'sworn' to uphold? What, indeed, becomes of oaths and duties, if morals and politics are to be divided by so great a gulf? There was not an intelligent Pagan in the ancient world, two thousand years ago, who would not have rejected with horror this maxim, which was welcomed, we are told, with 'applause' by many of the most intelligent citizens of New York! For my own part, I feel that some Irish voice should utterly repudiate it, and I do so as heartily as I repudiate the other iniquitous notion of the reopening of the African slave trade. [Renewed applause.]

\* \* \* \* I freely admit that citizens, whether native or naturalized, but especially the naturalized—have not so plain and straight a line of duty before them in the United States; but while I would not exact too much, nor blame too severely those less free to speak and act on this subject than we are here, I cannot conclude the observations I have offered you on this subject, without sending forth, in my own name, in your name, and the name of all the Irish in Canada, to our brethren in the United States, our fraternal prayer and petition, that they will not, for the honor of the common Fatherland, dear to us all—that they will not, as countrymen of those great orators of Ireland, who, from Burke to O'Connell, were sworn foes to human slavery in every clime, and under every pretext—that they will not, for their own sake, for Ireland's sake, suffer themselves to be enlisted in this last struggle among the forlorn hope of the pro-Slavery or philo-Slavery party in the neighboring Republic. [Enthusiastic applause.]

—At a meeting of the Rochester Ladies' Anti Slavery Society, held Feb. 4th, 1861, the following preamble and resolutions were passed:

Whereas, from the unfortunate state of money matters, and the present unsettled state of public affairs in this country, the friends of anti-slavery find it more difficult than ever to raise the funds necessary to carry out the objects for which they strive; therefore,

Resolved, That to their friends in Great Britain this Society and the anti-slavery cause have deep and even new reasons for thankfulness; that in this time of need, their donations are larger and more frequent; and that to them, and not to us, is due the efficiency of this Society in the work.

Resolved, That the above resolution be published in *Douglass' Monthly*.

—The Patriot, a paper published at Greenville, S. C., prints the following significant item of intelligence:—'Peter, the slave of Mr. Francis Davenport, was last week tried and convicted of insurrectionary conduct, and was sentenced to be hung on the fourth Friday in February.'

—The colored population in New York City, according to the last census, is 10,831, showing a decrease of 2,984 in ten years. They hold \$326,475 of real estate, and \$218,785 of personal estate. There are fourteen clergymen, and eleven doctors.



## NOTES ON HAYTI.

## RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

Religious toleration is a prominent characteristic of the Haytian people. Although they are Catholics they have never persecuted Protestants. No civilized nation in the world has so stainless a record on this point. The great principle of toleration has been embodied in every Constitution, and maintained under every form of Government that has prevailed in Hayti, from the dawn of its National Independence.

Dessalines, who completed the extinction of the whites, first proclaimed the doctrine of religious toleration.

In the Constitution of 1805 of the Empire of Hayti, the fifteenth article declares that the 'laws admit of no governing religion;' the fifty-first, that 'the liberty of worship is tolerated;' and the fifty-second, that 'the State makes no provision for the support of either worship or minister.'

Petion, the first President of the Republic of Hayti, made equally liberal provisions. In the Constitution of 1806, the thirty-fifth article is, 'The Roman Catholic religion being the religion of all the Haytians, is the religion of the State. It shall be specially protected; as, also its ministers.' Article 36 is, 'The law allows each minister the extent of his spiritual administration. Their ministers cannot, under any pretext, form a body of State.' Article 37 is, 'If, hereafter, other religions are introduced, no person shall be restrained in the exercise of the religion of their choice; provided he conforms to the laws.' I venture the assertion that the statute book of no other nation contains so remarkable a provision,—the assertion of the right of religious freedom by a nation of Catholics only, in anticipation of a possible future contingency.

Protestantism was introduced under Petion, by his special invitation, in 1847; he gave the missionaries a cordial welcome, and assured them of perfect liberty to preach, travel, and build houses of worship where they pleased.

In the Constitution of 1816, under Boyer, the forty-ninth article reads, 'All religious worship is permitted in the Republic, conformably with the laws.'

By the Constitution of 1843, (under Reviere,) 'All religions are equally free. Each one has the right to profess his religion and worship in freedom; provided he does not disturb the public order.'

In the Constitutions of 1846 and 1849, (the last being under the Empire of Soulouque,) the rights of religious freedom and worship are expressed in the language of the Constitution of 1843.

The Constitution of 1846 is in vigor now. The emphatic declaration of the present Government, that 'no one shall be called on to defend the Roman Catholic religion, whether he believes it or not,' and the frequent official repetitions of its intention to permit no manner of religious persecutions, are guarantees that the principle of religious toleration will suffer no abatement under the enlightened rule of President Geffrard and his ministers. Such official guarantees, however, are unnecessary; the character and history of the people are all sufficient. If there are those, however, who desire to make 'assurance doubly sure' in this respect, they will find ample opportunities of doing so in the archives of the Bureau at Boston.

## UNITED STATES COMMERCE WITH HAYTI.

The commerce between the United States and Hayti is the eighth in point of importance to this country. It is larger than that with Venezuela, Bolivar, Peru, the Argentine, and Cisalpine Republics, all included. In 1851, the Mexican States imported from the United States \$330,000 less than did Hayti, and employed 26,000 tons less of our shipping. In 1852 there were 330 cargoes carried between Boston and Hayti alone. Since then the commerce has largely increased. The present value of the importations from the United States is about \$2,250,000, and the amount of the duty paid by them to the Haytian treasury is about forty per cent. of the whole revenue.—

The chief of these importations are pork and flour, which amount to about fifty per cent. of the whole. The imports at Port-au-Prince, for the first six months of 1860, amounted to \$1,438,145, of which the United States received for its supplies \$665,400. This, of course, does not include what were landed at other ports, as Cape Haytien, Gonaives, Jacmel, St. Marks, Jeremie, &c., with which the trade under the United States flag is extensive. The exports from Port-au Prince for the same period amount to \$1,400,000, of which the United States took values to the amount of \$275,000 only—but little more than one-third of that received. The tonnage of the port amounted to 19,860 tons, of which the United States was represented by 9600, France 5000, England 2200 tons. The whole commerce of the island employs annually between 500 and 600 vessels, giving a total of about 70,000 tons, of which the United States commerce employs about 250 ships, and an aggregate of 37,000 tons. The import duties paid by the United States to the Haytian government, under the rule of Soulouque, amounted annually to about \$300,000, or one third of the revenue of the Empire. Since the re-inauguration of the Republic, under President Geffrard, the commerce of the two nations has largely increased. Should the measures now pending to secure a large colored emigration from this country be successful, it may be reasonably expected that this will be still further increased.

The productiveness of Hayti may be easily seen by the following statement of its products at the period just previous to its revolution.—There were in cultivation about two million acres of land which yielded as follows: brown sugar, 93,773,300 lbs.; white sugar, 47,516,351 lbs.; coffee, 77,000,000 lbs.; cotton, 7,004,274 lbs.; indigo, 758,628 lbs. This does not cover a large trade in hides, valuable woods, minerals and smaller vegetable products. These figures embrace only the French colony, which thus produced as much sugar as all of the British West Indies together. At present the Haytian Republic is the third coffee producing country of the world. Hitherto but little attention has been paid to cotton. The variety grown there is of that kind known as tree cotton. The Sea Island and all other varieties become perennial and yield two crops a year, averaging 500 lbs. per acre. Two-thirds of the land in Hayti are admirably adapted to the cultivation of this staple. Machinery for its culture and manufacture is now being imported by the government of Hayti, and every effort, it is announced by them, will be made to secure a share of the tempting prize which the trade in this staple offers. Hayti is in the very centre of the cotton belt of the world, and wants nothing but labor and skill to develop her immense resources to become one of the foremost sources of the cotton supply, demanded by the great manufacturing interest of Europe and New England.

—A Milwaukee merchant at New Orleans, recently heard two men, partially intoxicated, call out 'Hurrah for Lincoln!' In a moment they were dangling from the rafters of a building, for their 'incendiary' remarks. The merchant thought this was 'rather rough usage,' and so stated to a friend, when he was summarily told that if he did not 'dry up' he would share the same fate. In about ten minutes a vigilance committee waited on him and warned him to leave immediately, and in spite of his business which called him there, he thought it best to comply with the request.

—The returns of the census for the four slaveholding Indian communities west of the State of Arkansas, have been received by the Department at Washington. The communities referred to are the Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws and Seminoles. The latter were the only tribe which refused to let the assistant Marshal enumerate their slaves. Several thousand slaves are owned by the tribes taken in the aggregate, and these slaves are employed by the Indians in cultivating their lands.

—Mr. Conway, Representative from the new State of Kansas, was born at Charleston, S. C., and is now only about 30 years of age.—He is a Republican, as are all the other officers of that State.

## THE CLEVELAND FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

While the scoundrels of the South are charging that the North does not fulfill her constitutional obligations, a poor, forlorn woman, named Lucy, has been surrendered, as we announced in our last number, to her assumed owner, a Mr. Goshorn of Virginia, in the very heart of the Western Reserve. The following is the closing scene before the U. S. Commissioner:

When the evidence had all been submitted, Hon. R. P. SPAULDING, counsel for the woman, arose and said:

May it please the Court—The time has arrived when I feel myself in duty bound to surrender my unfortunate client to the demands of that law 'whose tender mercies are cruelities.' By your indulgence, Sir, a full opportunity has been presented to me to procure testimony that would enable me to vindicate this woman's claim to personal freedom, even in the eye of the Fugitive Enactment itself. I had strong hopes of finding such testimony; but, Sir, after the most earnest efforts made in that behalf, by means of money freely furnished by the good and humane of Cleveland, I am constrained to say that, according to the law of slavery, the colored girl Lucy does owe service to Wm. S. Goshorn of Virginia, and I am quite satisfied, from sundry affidavits, that I shall take the liberty to read, and from other and more unerring evidence, that she made her escape from such service in Virginia at the time stated by the claimant. Nothing now remains that may impede the performance of your painful duty, Sir, unless I be permitted to trespass a little further upon your indulgence and say to this assemblage, 'we are this day offering to the majesty of constitutional law a homage that takes with it a virtual surrender of the finest feelings of our nature—the vanquishing of many of our strictest resolutions—the mortification of a freeman's pride, and, I almost said, the contravention of a Christian's duty to his God.'—While we do this, in the city of Cleveland, in the Connecticut Western Reserve, and permit this poor piece of humanity to be taken peaceably through our streets, and upon our railways back to the land of bondage, will not the frantic South stay its parricidal arm? Will not our compromising legislators cry, 'Hold, enough!'

Affidavits of several persons were then read, after which Mr. BARLOW, counsel for the claimants, arose and said:

I must thank my learned friend for what to me seems the patriotic course he has pursued. I must say, however, that this question before us does not involve the right or wrong of slavery, and I do not understand that the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law is involved, nor the propriety of its provisions. The whole duty of the Court is to give force and vigor to the law as it is. In justice to the claimants, I will say that they are actuated by no mercenary motives, nor do they come to harass the prejudices of the North; their object is simply to test whether our declamations of being law-abiding citizens are true, and are really meant. Cleveland has come up to work manfully, and no citizen has laid a single straw in the way, and these gentlemen from Virginia thank you for it, and it will satisfy them more than all else.

Mr. Commissioner WHITE, in giving his decision, remarked that the Constitution requires that persons held to service or labor, having escaped from a slave to a free State, shall be given up. The law of 1793 furnishes means to enforce this, and the law of 1850 has given greater facilities. The only facts required to be known in order that a certificate shall be furnished, are:—1st, Is she a slave? I can assume that slavery exists in Virginia, and that persons can be held there, to service, and the proof is undisputed that she is a slave. 2d, Did she escape? This is admitted. 3d, Is Mr. Goshorn her owner?—



This also is beyond question, and I have only one course to take, and that is to grant the certificate.

Marshal JOHNSON then read from the statutes, concerning the duty of Marshals, and the penalties in the case such duty was not performed; also the penalty imposed for interrupting the execution of the law. He said that it was unnecessary to say that the most unpleasant duty of his life devolved upon him in being required to carry back that girl into slavery. 'It is my wish to return her with the smallest possible force. I would further say that this girl can be purchased of her master, and I will give \$100 towards it.'

Mr. BARLOW announced that Mr. GOSHORN, Sen., would like to make a few remarks.

Mr. G. said: I feel under many obligations which I wish to express, for the manner in which I have been received in Cleveland. I had an unpleasant duty to perform, and one which I would gladly have avoided. I trust that this may be a stepping stone towards relieving the difficulties which exist between the North and the South, and I would have been glad had the mantle fallen upon some one more worthy than myself to represent the great State of Virginia. My purpose is to serve the Union.

Mr. GOSHORN proceeded at some length to illustrate the feeling which prevails at both the North and the South, and expressed a hope that a better understanding would be brought about.

Mr. WM. SLADE said: That it occurred to him that the citizens of this city should give an expression of opinion in this matter, and he offered resolutions to the effect that the Fugitive Slave Law, so long as it remained a law, should not be prevented from being enforced in our midst.

Judge SPAULDING dissented, remarking that he knew there were diverse sentiments in the room, and that he would not consent to surrender his, at the bidding of any man or set of men. He also made a motion that the Marshal proceed to Wheeling with his charge, and that he be accompanied by the smallest necessary force, and that the people see that he is unmolested. The motion was unanimously passed—Mr. Slade's resolutions having been withdrawn.

Marshal JOHNSON immediately started for Wheeling with his victim. No attempt was made to rescue her on the route, although at Lima a hundred or so armed persons were waiting for the train to stop; but the engineer, seeing the crowd, let on a full head of steam and passed through the town without making the usual stop.

The Cleveland *Leader*, in commenting on this test case, says:

The action of the people of Cleveland in this case has been such as would have been expected of a law-abiding community. They have received the claimants for the slave with kindness and courtesy, and allow both them and the slave to depart peacefully. We need not remind our readers that this is much more than they could expect to meet with, were they to go into a district in the South, as noted for its adherence to, and love of slavery, as the Western Reserve is noted for its adherence to, and love of freedom, whatever might be their mission. A man is safe in Cleveland, let him hail from where he will; and so, too, would a Cleveland man be safe, doubtless, in Wheeling, for that is almost a Republican city; but let him go five hundred miles further South, and he might as well take poison at once as to announce himself from Ohio.

The test question has been tried, and the law has been submitted to. We have done our share. Will the South do hers? It was as much as confessed, in the remarks of Mr. Goshorn, that leading men of Virginia and the South had urged on this case, as one which should have great influence for good or evil in the present crisis. Will they do as much as we? The South complains of her 'wrongs'; this very case is one of our wrongs,

and one that it galls us to endure. Have they 'honor' and 'chivalry' enough to respect reasonable laws themselves, as strictly as we have done the unjust one? The thanks of the community are due to Judge Spaulding, who, without any hope of fee or reward, volunteered his services in behalf of the poor fugitive.

The *Leader* gives the following advice to fugitives in that locality:

The *Plain Dealer* says that the late fugitive slave case will be shortly followed by others here and in this vicinity. We do not know of much better authority, upon questions of slave interest, than that paper, and we therefore have a word of advice to all fugitives—that is, to leave for Canada as soon as possible. THERE they are freemen, and British subjects, and subject to the call of no man; here they are not safe a day.—Let them flee and ensure safety at the earliest possible moment.

#### THE PRESIDENT ELECT.

Abraham Lincoln, the President elect, passed through our city on Monday morning, Feb. 18. The train only stopped a few minutes, but Mr. Lincoln had to make a speech to the assembled thousands who had come to greet him. His speeches along the route are all of the same purport, and we give a few extracts to show their general character. His short speech here did not touch on the great question of the day. On leaving his home in Springfield, Ill., for the seat of Government, he addressed his fellow-citizens as follows:

'My friends:—No one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am.—Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century; here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me, which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and in the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support, and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but, with which, success is certain. Again, I bid you all an affectionate farewell.' (Loud applause, and cries of 'We will pray for you'.)

At Indianapolis Mr. Lincoln spoke as follows:

'Fellow-Citizens of the State of Indiana:—I am here to thank you much for this magnificent welcome, and still more for the very generous support given by your State, to that political cause which I think is the true and just cause of the whole country and the whole world. Solomon says, "There is a time to keep silence," and when men wrangle by the month with no certainty that they mean the same thing while using the same word, it perhaps were as well if they would keep silence. The words coercion and invasion are much used in these days, and often with much temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. Let us get the exact definition of these words, not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by the use of the words. What, then, is 'coercion'? What is 'invasion'? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent of her people, and with hostile attempt toward them, be invasion?—I certainly think it would; and 'coercion' also, if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts, and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from

places where they were habitually violated, would any or all these things be 'invasion' or 'coercion'? Do our professed lovers of the Union, but who spitefully resolve that they will resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these on the part of the United States would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their great affection would seem to be exceedingly thin and airy. If sick, the little pills of the homeopathist would be much too large for it to swallow. In their view, the Union, as a family relation, would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of free-love arrangement, to be maintained on passion attraction. By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution, for that, by the bond, we all recognize. That position, however, a State cannot carry out of the Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is less than itself, and to ruin all which is larger than itself. If a State and a county, in a given case, should be equal in extent of territory, and equal in number of inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the county? Would an exchange of names be an exchange of rights? On what principle, on what rightful principle, may a State, being no more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation and then coerce a proportionably larger subdivision of itself, in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country with its people by merely calling it a State? Fellow-citizens, I am not asserting anything. I am merely asking questions for you to consider. And now allow me to bid you farewell.'

From Indianapolis Mr. Lincoln proceeded to Cincinnati, where he addressed the citizens, and said:

'I have spoken but once before this, in Cincinnati. That was a year previous to the late Presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner, but with small words, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we, as Republicans, would ultimately beat them, as Democrats, but that they could postpone that result longer by nominating Senator Douglas to the Presidency, than they could in any other way. They did not, in any true sense of the word, nominate Mr. Douglas, and the result has come, certainly, as soon as ever I expected. I also told them how I expected they would be treated after they should have been beaten; and I now wish to call their attention to what I then said upon that subject. I then said, "When we do as we say, beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, as far as I am authorized to speak for the Opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you as near as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institutions; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution; and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you so far as degenerate men, if we have degenerated, may, according to the example of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us, other than the difference of circumstances.—We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or we claim to have, and treat you accordingly." Fellow-citizens of Kentucky! friends! brethren, may I call you in my new position, I see no occasion, and feel no inclination to retract a word of this. If it shall not be made good, be assured the fault shall not be mine.'

At Cleveland he said:

'You have assembled to testify your respect to the Union, the Constitution and the laws; and here let me say that it is with you



—the people—to advance the great cause of Union and the Constitution, and not with any one man. It rests with you alone. This fact is strongly impressed on my mind at present. In a community like this, whose appearance testifies to their intelligence, I am convinced that the cause of Liberty and the Union can never be in danger. Frequent allusion is made to the excitement at present existing in our national politics—it is well that I should also allude to it here. I think there is no occasion for any excitement. The crisis, as it is called, is altogether an artificial crisis. In all parts of the nation there are differences of opinion on politics. There are differences of opinion even here. You did not all vote for the person who now addresses you. What is happening now will not hurt those who are farther away from here. Have they not all their rights now as they ever have had? Do they not have their fugitive slaves returned now as ever? Have they not the same Constitution they have lived under for the last seventy odd years? Have they not a position as citizens of this common country, and have we any power to change that position? What, then, is the matter with them—why all this excitement—why all these complaints? As I said before, this crisis is all artificial. It has no foundation in fact.—It was not argued up, as the saying is, and cannot, therefore, be argued down. Let it alone and it will go down of itself.

At Albany Mr. Lincoln addressed the Senate and Assembly in joint convention assembled, an extract from which we append:

'I do not propose to enter into an explanation of any particular line of policy as to our present difficulties to be adopted by the incoming Administration. I deem it just to you, to myself, and to all, that I should see everything, that I should hear everything, that I should have every light that can be brought within my reach, in order that when I do speak I shall have enjoyed every opportunity to take correct and true ground; and for this reason I do not propose to speak at this time of the policy of the Government, but when the time comes, I shall speak as well as I am able for the present and future of this country, for the good both of the North and of the South of this country, for the good of the one and the other, and of all sections of the country. In the meantime, if we have patience, if we restrain ourselves, if we allow ourselves not to be run off with passion, I still have confidence that the Almighty Maker of the Universe will, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people, bring us through this, as He has through all the other difficulties of our country. Relying on this, I again thank you for this generous reception.'

—The first attempt of a vessel to enter a foreign port under the flag of the 'Independent Republic of South Carolina' was made at Havana by a brigantine from Charleston. She sailed in part the Moro Castle with her 'Palmetto' flying aloft. But immediately, by order of the officer in command of the fortress, she was brought to anchor under its guns, and kept there until the flag of the United States was displayed at her mast-head, when she was permitted to proceed up the harbor. We wonder what they are going to do in Palmetto-dom about this outrage upon their flag in a foreign port. This insult ought to be avenged forthwith. A newborn nationality cannot afford to permit its emblematic ensign to be thus dishonored.—*Sunday Atlas*.

—It seems Old Ben Wade also goes in for compromise. He thinks that at least two hundred of the secession leaders should be hung; but he is willing to compromise and hang only a hundred and fifty, if the South will stay in the Union.

—A large meeting of colored citizens was held in Mr. Martin's church, Boston, week before last, for the purpose of protesting against the attempts now being made to disfranchise and drive them from the country. An appeal to the people of Massachusetts was adopted, asking aid and protection.

### THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.

#### EFFECT OF SECESSION IN FLORIDA.

The legitimate effects of secession have already made their appearance in Florida. Poor people are beginning to feel hungry. Pork is \$30 a barrel, flour \$13, corn \$1 75, and oats \$1. Establishments which a few weeks ago had eight clerks, have now only one. Small towns which were thriving have been suddenly checked in their growth, and have a desolate appearance. All who can are making preparations to come North. Of course no Northern-born people will willingly remain at the South after secession, for loyalty is still to them a moral obligation and a word of some meaning. But there is nothing singular in the fact that every one, with any property to save, should be eager to reach some place where life and property can be secured to them. In Florida, proprietors have already been taxed \$14 per head for their negro property, and negroes which sold for \$1,100 each six months ago would not now fetch \$500. When our informant left, there was nothing in the State Treasury; and there is every probability that secession will ultimately throw Florida back into a wilderness, and make the State a suitable domain for Seminoles and Camanches.

#### ANOTHER PASSPORT FACT.

The *Louisville Journal* says that on Wednesday last a highly respectable citizen of Jefferson County, quite a ferocious fire-eater, came into this city to make arrangements for visiting the South on business. He applied to the Mayor and obtained from that functionary a passport, with a certificate that he lives in Jefferson, that he is a slave-owner, and that he is a friend of the South. As a reason why he wished such a passport and certificate, he stated that some of his neighbors, who have recently visited the South, were so annoyed and bedeviled with Vigilance Committees that he could not venture to go without first taking precautions against trouble.

#### THE CARRYING TRADE AND SECESSION.

Secession is greatly benefiting the freight-ships, and seems likely to enable the Northern manufacturers to obtain their cotton much cheaper than it can be laid down in England and France. The rates of freight to Great Britain and the continent of Europe are now twice as high as usual, and paying great profits to those fortunate enough to have ships in the gulf ports. At the same time, the coastwise rate has risen only slightly, and this state of things is giving an advantage to the Northern manufacturer of about one cent a pound in the cost of cotton which he has never before possessed. Thus secession is making the ship owners rich, and at the same time benefiting the Northern manufacturers. Why can't Northern men leave the thing alone?

#### 'CIVIL WAR WILL BE ABOLITION.'

So says the *Raleigh (N. C.) Standard*.—That paper assumes, as the basis of its argument, that if the difficulties between the North and the South should not be settled within the next six months, war will be the result; that three or four confederacies will be formed; and that 'it will be impossible for the northwestern and gulf States to avoid war—the navigation of the Mississippi will lead to it.' After this prophesy of a conflict, the fatal consequences to slavery are pictured as follows:

'If war once breaks out it will rage in the interior, on our seacoasts, on the high seas and on our frontiers. One section will let loose the Indians on another section. Twenty millions of northern people will at once become enemies. They will war upon us along a line of three thousand miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific. One confederacy will humble itself before the powers of Europe to get better commercial terms than the other confederacies. Meanwhile war will rage. Negro property will cease to be valuable, because the products of slave labor and all other labor will be in a great degree cut off from the markets of the world. The negroes will know, too, that the war is waged on their account. They will become restless and turbulent.—Heavy taxes will result from these wars.—

These taxes must be paid mainly out of slave labor. Strong governments will be established, and will bear heavily on the masses. The masses will rise up and destroy everything in their way. State bonds will be repudiated. Banks will break. Widows and orphans will be reduced to beggary. The sword will wave everywhere paramount to all law. The whole world outside the slaveholding States, with slight exceptions, is opposed to slavery; and the whole world, with slave labor thus rendered insecure and comparatively valueless, will take sides with the North against us.—The end will be—Abolition!'

#### A FEARFUL RETRIBUTION THREATENED.

The blockade of the Mississippi River is producing its natural effect in arousing a bitterly vindictive feeling throughout the northwest. Measures of retaliation already begin to be talked of. The *Cincinnati Gazette* goes so far as to recommend the destruction of the embankment on the river. It says:

'By breaking down the embankments we can easily overflow all the country of the lower Mississippi, and drown out the towns and plantations.'

The terrible effects of crevasses on the southern plantations in former years are not yet forgotten, and this threat from the West bears a peculiar significance. We may look for curious developments in this warfare of the river, but it is to be hoped that extreme measures on either side will be avoided.

#### THE PREDICAMENT OF GEORGIA.

The *Southern Cultivator*, an agricultural journal issued at Augusta, Ga., says:—We have suddenly been brought into a position which suggests grave probabilities of war.—We are therefore arming. But we labor under a greater deficiency than the want of arms.—It is the want of bread. The State of Georgia has not now grain enough within her limits to feed her population and domestic animals until the gathering of the next crop. It is presumed that the rest of the Cotton States are in a similar condition. Last year we obtained our supplies from the North-west. It may be that our currency will be in a condition to prevent this supply, except at ruinous sacrifices. It may be that we shall be cut off from it altogether. This is probable, unless these supplies are immediately procured. We are presenting in Georgia, at this moment, the anomalous spectacle of a people having upwards of twenty millions of dollars' worth of the earth's products for sale, yet requiring a large proportion of the results of sale to buy the common necessities of life, which are also the products of the soil! If we were to write until doomsday in advocacy of a mixed husbandry, we could not utter language so forcible as that which is uttered by the present crisis. We are surprised. We are caught unprepared.—We have much to sell, nobody to buy, and little or nothing to wear.

#### SOCIETY IN THE SLAVE STATES TO BE REDUCED TO THE FEUDAL CONDITION.

The *Southern Literary Messenger* for last month, published at Richmond, Virginia, has just been revealing some of the purposes of the slaveholding rebels, in breaking up the Union. One of them, and the main one, is to abolish universal white suffrage. It declares the experiment of a Republican Government, based upon the universal suffrage of the white man, to be a disgraceful failure, and openly avows the design of the rebels to create a Southern Republic upon a white suffrage, limited to men of sufficient property for annual subsistence upon the usufruct! In other words, the policy of these rebels is to reduce society in the Slave States to the feudal condition again, with African Slavery for its basis, and to adopt such legislation as will compel the poor white man to emigrate, and to confine the dominant class to the fewest possible numbers.

—The Senate of Alabama has passed a bill requiring all free negroes to leave the State by the 1st of January, 1862, or be sold into slavery.



## THE TWO ANDERSONS.

BY MRS. HOYT.

A fortress by the sea;  
An honest man within,  
Who dared to keep a patriot's trust  
Against his Traitor kin.

Its walls with wealth are brave;  
Its guns are staunchly set;  
The Stars and Stripes that o'er it wave,  
Have never failed us yet.

Millions of hearts beat strong;  
Millions of hands prepare;  
And should the smallest do him wrong,  
A dark'ning host is there.

Old Sumter by the sea,  
The dear old Flag above,  
The man who holds them for the free—  
Divide a people's love.

When worthy deeds are done,  
Not heaven, or earth, is mute;  
Now give our noble Anderson  
A National Salute!

A jail in a foreign land;  
A hero shut within,  
Who dared to lift a hand, in chains,  
Against the spoiler's sin.

That land is counted brave  
To which our brother fled;  
There the Red Cross and Lion wave,  
That valiant things have said.

Millions of hearts beat strong  
And bear him up in prayer;  
But where the spoiler goes for wrong,  
No hand is lifted there!

The Lion shrinks his task,  
Our Eagle soars in scorn,  
Where two great nations parleying, ask,  
What of the bondman born?

And not for him the Cross;  
And not for him the stars;  
But fiends that wait, and flames that hiss  
Against his prison bars.

When cause like this hath won,  
Where is the Christian State?  
God help thee, wretched Anderson,  
To bide thy time and fate!

MADISON, Wis., Feb., 1861.

## A NEGRO CONFEDERACY.

The Rochester *Express*, in speaking of the probability, at a future day, of a great negro confederacy in the Southern States, says:

The negroes are seceding very fast. We do not mean the individual 'secessions' by the Underground Railroad, which still continue, and which are nothing new, but rather their recent general stampede out of the Union, on account of Lincoln's election. Two or three weeks ago, nearly three hundred and eighty-five thousand of their number were formally voted out of the Union in South Carolina, and day before yesterday, the same thing was done to three hundred and ten thousand in Mississippi. We know, of course, that these proceedings were accomplished by white men, who fondly delude themselves with the idea that they are the real masters in those States, an illusion which may do very well for the present, but which the negroes will dispel, as soon as they see fit to do so.

If any one doubts that the negroes are the real masters of the States which have so far seceded, and are, in fact, by far the most important part of the secessionists, let him look at the comparative white and slave population of those States:

	Whites.	Slaves.
South Carolina.....	274,000	385,000
Mississippi.....	295,000	310,000
Total.....	569,000	695,000

There are thus in the two States which have already seceded, 126,000 more slaves than whites. When Florida secedes, as she has done, it will decrease this negro majority only a little, adding 47,000 to the white, and 39,000 to the slave population. But as these are the figures of the census of 1850, since which the slaves have increased much faster than the whites, it is fair to assume that in

the three States mentioned, there is at present a slave majority of at least 150,000.

Under these circumstances, the negroes of the Cotton States have certainly a most captivating prospect opened before them. With a fine soil, and a climate suited to their wants, and above all, with the control of what the Southern people have always called 'the great staple of the world,' the negro confederacy could hardly fail of becoming an important power, as it certainly will become the Utopia and paradise of negroes throughout the world.

**SLAVE STATE STATISTICS**—The Philadelphia *North American* deduces some interesting facts from the late census. That enumeration shows that in the entire South the free population has gained largely upon the servile element, for while the former has gained 2,021,702, the latter gains but 798,941. In 1850 the slaves were just half as numerous as the free population. Now they have fallen behind 434,000. The gain of free population is chiefly in the border States. In Missouri the free population have nearly doubled in ten years, and the slaves, who in 1850 were as 1 to 7 of the whites, are as 1 to 9. Kentucky in ten years gained 178,653 free people, and only 14,509 slaves. Slavery in Delaware and Maryland shows a decided decrease in numbers. In Kentucky and Missouri it is evidently being overwhelmed by the large and steady increase of the free population. In Virginia large as the slave population is, its hold is growing weaker. In 1850, the excess of free people over slaves was 476,605; it is now 601,547, the increase of the free element during the decade having been 148,240, and of the slaves only 23,298. It is apparent that in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, the peculiar institution is ebbing away before the mighty power of free emigration. In South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, the institution maintains its strength and preponderance. In North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas it is strong and progressive, but the free element is largely in the ascendant. Slavery is clearly moving towards the tropics, and if suffered to do so, will pass away from the States north of 36° 30 min.

—The Unitarian Society of Syracuse, of which Rev. Samuel J. May is pastor, passed resolutions, at a late meeting, expressive of the sense of the Society in the treatment which their pastor had received in sundry cities of the State where he had attempted to speak on behalf of the slave, and in favor of free speech under all circumstances.

—Mr. Kyser communicates to the Cahaba (Ala.) Gazette the fact, that while he was taking up a subscription to aid in uniforming the Richmond Grays, John, a slave belonging to a Mr. Coleman, promptly gave \$10, remarking that he, 'being a slave, could not go himself, but that his money, his hogs, his cows, and his corn, were all at their disposal, when needed, without money and without price!'

—The President elect has reached Washington in safety. Plots to assassinate him were discovered in time to frustrate the programme of the villains. He passed through Baltimore at a time when he was not expected, and will be inaugurated on Monday next.

—In the year 1850, as appears by the census, the number of slaves that escaped from the South was 1,011. Since 1850 it is believed that the number of negroes who have taken French leave has not been less than 1,500 per annum, and that the cotton States have suffered their full proportion from the stampede.

—The estate of the late Wm. McKenna, of Charleston, S. C., was recently sold at auction. The real estate was sold, amounting to \$34,300, and 177 negroes at an average of \$772. Among them were several small children and some elderly negroes, one of which was sold for \$10. It is believed that the whole estate will yield the gross amount of \$220,000.

—'Die Union,' a German paper published at Galveston, has been suppressed, and all its property destroyed, for saying that Texas will never desert the Union, winding up its article with 'poor South Carolina.' At last accounts the editor was keeping out of the way of the mob, for fear that they would hang him.

## TO THE FRIENDS OF THE FUGITIVES FROM SLAVERY.

It is well known that Syracuse has long been one of the principal depots on the Underground Railroad. For many years past, fugitives from slavery, varying in number from thirty to nearly two hundred annually, have been sheltered here, and aided hence to Canada, or to places of safety on this side of the St. Lawrence.

Since the Fall of 1857, the management of this business has been devolved almost wholly upon the Rev. J. W. LOGUEN and his family, who have fulfilled the duties committed to them very acceptably. They are willing still to keep their house open as an asylum for the oppressed, and to help them on their way to free homes. In order to do this, he must depend upon the contributions of the benevolent in this city and elsewhere, for the support of his family and the aid of those who come to them in distress. All fugitives, coming this way, should be directed to the care of Rev. J. W. LOGUEN, and contributions or subscriptions of money, clothing or provisions, may be sent directly to him, or to such persons as he may designate.

Mr. LOGUEN agrees to keep exact accounts of all that he receives and of those whom he shelters and assists, and holds accounts in readiness for the inspection of any friends who will take the trouble to come and examine them.—He will also make semi-annual reports, and present his accounts for examination to gentlemen who have been appointed to audit them.

We, the undersigned, citizens of Syracuse, have long known Mr. LOGUEN. We believe him to be a very upright as well as enterprising man, every way qualified to fill the important station which he occupies, and we cordially commend him to the confidence of the benevolent everywhere.

We take this occasion to caution the public against one William Brown, sometimes called the Rev. Mr. Brown, sometimes Professor, and at other times Dr. Brown, who has been extensively about the country, claiming to be a friend of the fugitives. We advise all those who wish to make donations for the promotion of this philanthropic enterprise, to make them to Mr. LOGUEN, and to refrain altogether from making them to Mr. Brown.

SAMUEL J. MAY, CYRUS PRINDLE,  
WM. E. ABBOTT, JAMES FULLER,  
ABNER BATES, H. PUTNAM,

## REMITTANCES FOR DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

	Amount.	Pays to
S B, North Elba.....	1 00	July, 1861
J H R. Newark.....	1 00	Aug, 1861
C A M, Chicago.....	1 00	"
H S, Perch River.....	1 00	"
G W T, Ironton.....	50	"
B F M, Waterloo.....	1 00	"
M F L, Corning.....	1 00	Sept., 1861
J H, Brockett's Bridge...	1 00	Dec., 1861
Mrs E M, Ellisburgh....	1 00	"
R T, Marshall.....	1 00	"
O B, Manilla.....	1 00	"
J J, West Haven.....	1 00	"
J G, Chicago.....	2 00	"
T P, Lockport.....	1 00	"
J M H, Exeter.....	1 00	Jan., 1862
M A P, Lockport.....	1 00	"
A B, Sparta.....	1 00	"
D W, ".....	1 00	Feb., 1862
Miss A P, Athens.....	1 00	"
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D S, Eugene.....	1 00	"
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W D C, Sodus.....	1 00	"
C D W, College Hill.....	1 00	March, 1862

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